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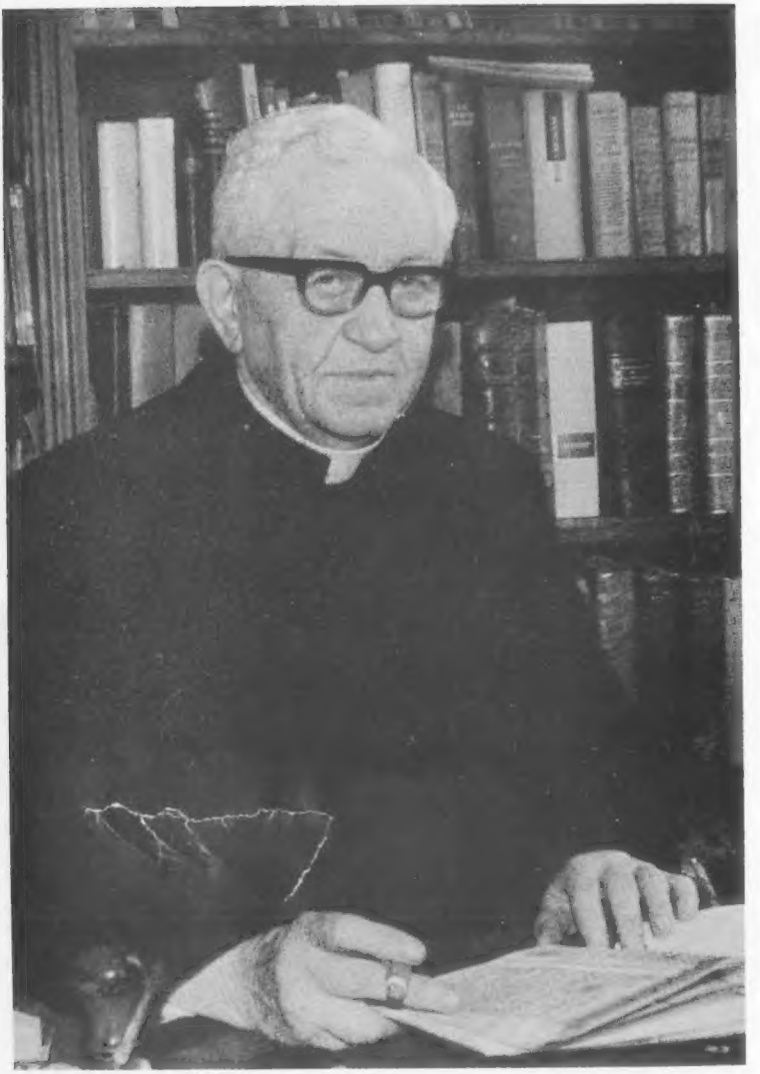

IN MEMORIAM

René DRAGUET
(1896-1980)

Après H. Grégoire, P. van den Ven, P. Lambrechts, P. Orgels et F. Masai, *Byzantion* perd dans la personne de René Draguet un de ceux qui ont été des pionniers des études byzantines dans notre pays. Cet anachorète accueillant et discret, qui disait toujours du bien des autres, parlait très peu de lui-même. Il était gai et tolérant, mais il restait secret et presque un inconnu pour ceux qui le connaissaient le mieux. Les services administratifs de l'université de Louvain savaient seulement que René, Henri, Ghislain Draguet naquit à Gosselies, le 13 février 1896, devint prêtre en 1919, maître de conférences à l'Université de Louvain en 1925 et professeur en 1926 ; il y faisait le cours de théologie générale à la «schola maior» de la Faculté de Théologie, de même que le cours d'introduction à la théologie orthodoxe, et trois cours de philologie et d'histoire orientales : vieux-slave, syriaque et introduction aux littératures chrétiennes orientales. Il fut émérite en 1966. Ce curriculum vitae officiel ignore qu'il entra à l'Académie Royale des Lettres, des Sciences et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique en 1960 et qu'il fut l'éditeur de 312 volumes de textes orientaux. Car s'il vivait en ermite, il fut aussi thaumaturge, puisque, pendant cinquante ans, il fit des miracles sans interruption dans le domaine de la philologie orientale.

En 1922, Mgr. Lebon, professeur de langues orientales, et Mgr. Ladeuze, recteur de l'université et orientaliste lui aussi, l'envoient approfondir le syriaque à Rome et à Londres, puis chez les Mékhitaristes à Venise et à Vienne pour l'arménien, ensuite à Prague, pour apprendre le vieux-slave, «avec mission d'étudier tout ce qui concerne l'union des églises orientales» (lettre du 5 mars 1925). Il se trouvait au British Museum quand il reçut sa nomination dans le corps académique de l'Université Catholique de Louvain ; il était chargé en même temps «d'animer l'étude des littératures chrétiennes orientales» (lettre du 16 août 1925). Cette fonction allait être à l'origine de ses activités d'éditeur dans le corpus dit «de Draguet» ou *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orienta-*

lium ou *C.S.C.O.* (lettre du 30 juillet 1926). En 1932, il se trouve associé à J. Bidez, à A. Delatte, à H. Grégoire et au P. P. Peeters, au sein du «Bureau de documentation bibliographique des études byzantines et slaves de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique» (lettre du 18 février 1932). Dans une lettre du 10 août 1936, il écrit : (Chaque année), «je consacre régulièrement six ou sept mois à la préparation de mon cours de dogmatique fondamentale ; le reste va à la préparation de la théologie orthodoxe, et éventuellement du vieux-slave» ... ; il s'occupe en même temps de deux revues, la *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* et *Le Muséon*, ainsi que des travaux, très absorbants, des étudiants.

Sa carrière de théologien fut néanmoins brutalement interrompue par une disgrâce ecclésiastique de 1942 à 1948. Dans une série de documents – chefs-d'œuvre épistolaires qu'il a fait déposer dans les archives du Royaume –, il défendit ses méthodes et ses principes : «aborder de front, dans le respect de la foi et des faits, deux problèmes cruciaux ... : le développement de la tradition ecclésiastique et la critique scientifique des méthodes propres à la théologie» (lettre du 25 juillet 1942). Cause perdue. Il passa à la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres et se consacra exclusivement aux textes orientaux.

Réhabilité solennellement en 1948, il reprit sa chaire et fut élu doyen de la faculté de théologie (lettre du 29 janvier 1948, quae «tamquam *publica* et *solemnis* ... redintegratio habeatur»). Il enseigna en Angleterre, fit des conférences en Allemagne sur invitation de la Goerres-Gesellschaft, et grâce à l'appui que lui accordaient nos ministres des affaires étrangères, notamment P. van Zeeland et P. H. Spaak, il suscita dans le monde savant les collaborations internationales nécessaires à son «Corpus» devenu le «Corpus de Louvain et Washington». En 1952, il faisait des démarches auprès des autorités académiques en faveur de *Byzantion* et en faveur du «Centre byzantino-oriental». Il avait été élu à l'Académie Royale le 4 mai 1960 et il était membre de notre Conseil depuis le 28 novembre 1963.

Depuis 1966, à l'instar des Pères du désert, il partageait son temps entre la prière et le travail, ne sortant guère que pour se rendre aux séances de l'Académie Royale, retenant volontiers très longuement ses amis rares et fidèles et leur téléphonant quelquefois qu'on lui apportât un livre devenu introuvable. Sa sérénité alliait à la sagesse des *Apophtegmes* les principes de «libre recherche, de tolérance et de critique scientifique», qui sont ceux de *Byzantion*.

Pendant les derniers mois de 1980, toujours jovial, il observait avec beaucoup de curiosité l'évolution de sa maladie, qu'il savait incurable, et

achevait les deux volumes de son dernier ouvrage, *La Vie primitive de saint Antoine conservée en syriaque* (C.S.C.O., 417 et 418), Louvain, 1980, qui parut en décembre.

Ce Wallon, qui était un homme «tout d'une pièce» du Pays Noir, s'éteignit doucement le 23 décembre 1980. Il pouvait regarder le travail accompli et, selon la parole de l'Écriture, «il voyait tout ce qu'il avait fait, et cela était très bon» (*Genèse*, 1, 31).

Justin MOSSAY.
Président du Conseil d'Administration de *Byzantion*.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTIONS OF BYZANTINE EMPERORS

Some remarks by way of friendly supplement may be of interest to readers of the recent paper on this subject by Constance Head [1].

First, some salient generalities. Any study of this matter must take into account a number of factors that preclude absolute confidence in the reliability of extant portraits. Imperial iconography, being equally subject to the dictates of flattery and caricature, is most easily suspect. Especially, but not exclusively, in the case of coins, where both technical limitations and the demands of propaganda tend to enforce impersonal standardisation of types. To quote from Grabar's [2] excellent discussion of this, «Les effigies monétaires appartenant à des règnes successifs, reproduisent parfois la même tête d'empereur». There are cases where we know that iconography is intentionally misleading. Justinian I was not particularly tall, and his wife Theodora was notably short (PROCOPIUS, *Anecd.*, 10. 11). Yet in the Barberini ivory [3], Justinian is disproportionate to the size of his horse, whilst Theodora dominates her court in the San Vitale mosaics at Ravenna [4]. A cruder example is that of Justinian II Rhinotmetus, whose portraits from his second reign do not reveal the mutilation that marked the end of his first and gave him his sobriquet [5].

(1) 'Physical Descriptions of the Emperors in Byzantine Historical Writing', *Byzantion*, 50 (1980), 226-40.

(2) A. GRABAR, *L'Empereur dans l'Art Byzantin* (repr. London, 1971), 9.

(3) Now in the Louvre ; cf. S. RUNCIMAN, *Byzantine Style and Civilization* (London, 1975), 42.

(4) Such artistic mendacity is not, of course, unique to Byzantium, or to antiquity as a whole. Many similarities emerge from books so diverse in theme as J. M. C. TOYNBEE, *Roman Historical Portraits* (London, 1978) and J. MCGINNISS, *The Selling of the President* (New York, 1968). In the 1976 debates between Presidents Ford and Carter, the television cameras had to be placed so as not to betray the relative smallness of the latter.

(5) For details, GRABAR, *op. cit.*, 10, n. 3.

Contemporary Byzantines may often have had to keep prudently silent about such blatancy. But in general, they were alive to the dangers and inadequacies of iconography. That cliché of ecphrasis about the lifelikeness of portraits and statues so ubiquitous in the Byzantine poets of the Anthology (6) is offset by frequent remarks, which one did not have to be a Platonist to utter, on the inability of artists to do full and accurate justice to a subject (7).

Religious art in particular was recognised as susceptible to all manner of distortions. Theodore Lector (*HE*, 1. 15) reports the miraculous withering, and equally miraculous curing, of the hands of a painter who discreetly represented Christ in the likeness of Zeus for a pagan patron. Epiphanius of Salamis (8) ridicules artists for naively thinking that they can know what the apostles looked like, and denounces those who depict Christ with long hair and his followers cropped or bald in order to boost a sectarian argument. With this sort of fraudulence admitted in religious art, at least some untrustworthiness in imperial portraiture could have been assumed even without the foregoing examples to prove it.

Similar considerations govern literary descriptions of emperors. There was a widespread mania for what have been aptly compared (9) to police descriptions of wanted men. Sober fact plays no great role in the capsule notices of the leading Greeks and Trojans in Homer routinely supplied by Malalas and other chroniclers (10). Another pertinent example of this art, attached to his essay on what Homer did not tell, is the *Characterismata* of Isaac Porphyrogenitus. Isaac's predilection for pen portraits is shared by his sister Anna Comnena, whose *Alexiad* is crammed with personal

(6) Most tediously frequent in Christodorus' poem on the Zeuxippus statues, comprising Book Two

(7) ANNA COMNENA, *Alex*., 3. 3, provides a notable example in the high-flown and clumsy praises of her parents' beauty ; cf. PLUTARCH, *Alex*., 4. 2-3, attributing to Alexander the Great an early formulation of the principle.

(8) Ed. G. OSTROGORSKY, *Studien zur Geschichte des byzantinischer Bilderstreites* (Breslau, 1929) frs. 6-7, pp. 67-9 ; frs. 23-7, pp. 71-2. Due allowance must be made for Epiphanius' fervent anticipation of iconoclast views.

(9) By R. BROWNING, 'Homer in Byzantium', *Viator*, 8 (1975), 28.

(10) The details are predictably discrepant between one chronicler and the next ; cf. the percipient notes of the older commentators on Malalas reproduced in Migne's text (*PG*, 97).

descriptions (11). True, Anna's characters are fact, not fiction ; but her linguistic and ethical stereotypes are often not very different.

It was not only Homeric heroes who received this lavish attention. Leading biblical and church figures were similarly favoured (Malalas, p. 256 Bonn, on Peter is a typical example). What Isaac Porphyrogenitus did for Greeks and Trojans, a certain Ulpius had already done in an essay (12) on the bodily characteristics of Adam, the Prophets, Christ, Peter and Paul, and eleven select Fathers of the Church.

Roman and Byzantine emperors are described by chroniclers from Malalas to Cedrenus in exactly the same style and language : a list of epithets, with compound adjectives especially favoured, repeated from character to character, is attached to the subject, usually along with the notice of his accession or death. Without knowing who was being described, the reader would often find it difficult to distinguish (say) Achilles, Peter, or Constantine.

Which is not to say that we can never believe an imperial description. But a number of obstacles may stand between representation and reality. Discrepancies are frequently encountered between one source and another, both near contemporary and when they are a long way apart in time from their subject or each other. It hardly needs to be said, much less documented, that this state of affairs is quite unsurprising, and not at all uniquely Byzantine. There are various reasons for such discrepancies. A particular source may simply be ignorant. Or it may misread or misquote another and better one. Two sources may describe the same emperor at different stages in his life and appearance without being so aware *or* so stating. Or two writers may single out different characteristics of the same subject for undue emphasis. Thus, to take a Roman example, Suetonius (*DJ*, 45. 1) on Julius Caesar begins with the arresting *excelsa statura* in a description that stresses the dictator's manliness, whilst Plutarch (*JC*, 17. 2) begins with Caesar's thin frame and goes on to concentrate on his effeminate features (13).

(11) In the words of G. BUCKLER, *Anna Comnena* (Oxford, 1929), 57, "No friend or even prominent enemy can be mentioned without a personal description".

(12) Ed. M. CHATZIDAKIS, *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρ. Βυζαντ. Σπουδῶν*, 14 (1938), 393.

(13) Cf. M. E. DEUTSCH, 'Concerning Caesar's Appearance', *CJ*, 12 (1917), 247-

The malign influence of physiognomy on descriptions of emperors in Roman biographers and historians was pointed out long ago ([14]). Byzantine pen portraiture suffers from the same thing. Handbooks of physiognomy continued to be written and exploited, notably one by the fourth-century sophist Adamantius of Alexandria, contemporary ([15]) with Ammianus Marcellinus. This level-headed historian, rightly included by Head in the ranks of Byzantine historiography ([16]), bears witness to the persistence of these theories, in his very first reference to Julian's looks : *cuius oculos cum venustate terribilis, vultumque excitatius gratum, diu multumque contuentes, qui futurus sit colligebant velut scrutatis veteribus libris, quorum lectio per corporum signa pandit animorum interna* (15. 8. 16).

With all of the above in mind, specific details in Head's paper can now be discussed. In the following notes, Head is abbreviated to H, with parenthetic numbers referring to the pages of her article ; unattributed quotations report H's own words.

1. H (226), citing only Eusebius, expresses surprise at the "disconcertingly little" contemporary description of Constantine the Great. This state of affairs is largely due to the loss of the relevant sections of Ammianus, also that of such contemporary Greek sources as Bemarchius and Praxagoras, both of whom composed histories of Constantine ([17]). The sort of thing written about the first emperor of Byzantium can be glimpsed in the *Panegyrici Latini* :

53. It is worth noting that neither Malalas nor Cedrenus give any physical details of the dictator.

(14) By E. C. Evans in a number of studies, most notably for present purposes 'Roman Descriptions of Personal Appearance in History and Biography', *HSCP*, 46 (1935), 44-81 Compare the canons adhered to by Anna Comnena, conveniently brought together and exemplified by BUCKLER, *op. cit.*, 57-61.

(15) He may well be the Adamantius several times alluded to by Oribasius ; cf. EVANS, *art. cit.*, 72, following R. FOERSTER, *Script. Physiog.*, 1, Proleg. 100-109. No such Adamantius is registered in the *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, 1 (Cambridge, 1971).

(16) A precedent set by Wilamowitz' inclusion of Ammianus in a history of Greek literature, for approval and development of which procedure see Alan CAMERON, *Claudian : Poetry and Propaganda at the Court of Honorius* (Oxford, 1970), vi.

(17) Basic information is available on these in *PLRE*.

both flatulent generalities of the Eusebian variety (4. 5. 4 ; 4. 34. 5 ; 5. 9. 3) and somewhat more illuminating references to the imperial *fulgor oculorum* (6. 17. 1) and *modestiae rubor* (6. 4. 4).

Eusebius and the Latin Panegyricists between them support the brief description by Malalas (p. 316, Bonn) – unnoticed by H – of Constantine as *μακρὸς πυρρός*. Some would have thought it fitting that this emperor should be tall, the mark of an Homeric hero, and have ruddy skin, another feature prized by Byzantine taste [18].

Ruddiness is one item preserved in the much later chronicle of Cedrenus [19]. Not tallness, however : Constantine is apparently [20] of medium stature. The physical details registered by Cedrenus lend themselves to the traditional physiognomical interpretations. Medium build connotes intellectual acumen and sensitivity ; broad shoulders indicate fortitude ; thick necks proclaim a taurine temperament ; beards and hair that are neither thick nor curly are good, since both intellectuals and lions have sparse hair and curliness denotes avarice and timidity ; leonine eyes are a straightforward version of the more subtle comparisons to that beast made elsewhere *à propos* of Augustus and Julian [21].

Cedrenus further equips Constantine with a neck so thick as to provoke the nickname Trachelas, an early and overlooked [22] example of the Byzantine habit of fastening nicknames on their rulers, a habit that must on occasion have influenced literary descriptions. Finally, there is the imperial nose, said by Cedrenus to

(18) Both of these qualities are much admired by Anna Comnena (cf. BUCKLER, *op. cit.*, 57-8), the latter almost to the detriment of truth in the case of her father, as H (237) rightly points out.

(19) If Cedrenus took the detail from Malalas, this would temper H's claim that this descriptions derive from *lost* sources.

(20) I say apparently because of the Greek *τῇ ἰδέᾳ μεσῆλιξ*. *LSJ* assign only the meaning "middle-aged" to the epithet. Given the other occurrences of it in Cedrenus (p. 637, of Justin I ; p. 691, of Maurice ; p. 714 of Heraclius), the text is presumably sound ; hence we can add a linguistic novelty to the lexica.

(21) See EVANS, *art. cit.*, *passim*, for all of this.

(22) By J. B. BURY, *A History of the Later Roman Empire* (London, 1889), 2, 308. If originally intended as an insult, the nickname might be traced back to the histories of Constantine by Bemarchius and Praxagoras, both pagans As will later be seen in the cases of Anastasius and John II Comnenus, it is not always clear whether a sobriquet is intended to be flattering or sarcastic.

have been somewhat crooked. Given the belief that both Paul and Christ himself had hooked noses (23), it is appropriate that the first emperor of Byzantium should have had a prominent proboscis. One thinks also of the "Roman nose" possessed by the first Roman emperor Augustus, a good thing to have in that it betokened a great-souled man (24).

2. For Constantius, H (227) relies largely on the Ammianean portrait (21. 16. 19). One should emphasize the difference between this and the one by Cedrenus (p. 520, Bonn) as an example of discrepancy between sources : in Ammianus, the emperor is *subniger* ; Cedrenus makes him *ἐπίξανθος*. Notice also how the eyes of Constantius are described : *luce oculorum edita* is Ammianus' way of putting it ; *χαροπός*, says Cedrenus, an adjective associated with the gaze of lions (25).

3. In the case of Julian, H (227) cites AMMIANUS, 25. 4. 22, part of that historian's obituary notice of his hero, not making it clear that the quotation is incomplete : Julian was also of medium height, strong overall build, and possessed of a thick neck. The laconic notice in Cedrenus (p. 532, Bonn) describes him as short, bearded (a detail made notorious, of course, by the emperor's *Misopogon*), and black-haired (26). An earlier passage (15. 8. 16) in Ammianus, not adduced by H, expatiates on Julian's *oculos cum venustate terribilis vultumque excitatius gratum*. This highly rhetorical flourish, already discussed for the physiognomical content, should by its similarity to a rhapsody in the *Panegyrici Latini* (3. 5. 3-4) alert the reader to be wary about such descriptions. Julian indeed, attracting as he did such extremes of opinion, is the perfect case of an emperor whose portraits are emotionally conditioned. Virtually every physical characteristic noted by Ammianus is amenable to favourable physiognomical interpretation (27). The reverse is true of the violent caricature published by Gregory of Nazianzus (28).

(23) Paul is hook-nosed in *Acta Pauli et Theclae*, 3, Christ in John DAMASCENE, *Ep. ad Theoph.* (Migne. *PG*, 9. 349C) ; cf. PSEUDO-LUCIAN, *Philopatris*, 12.

(24) SUETONIUS, *DA*, 79. 2 ; cf. EVANS, *art. cit.*, 66.

(25) *Suda*, X, 133 (Adler) ; cf. EVANS, *art. cit.*, 65.

(26) For other aspects of Julian in Byzantine chroniclers, and their sources, see Averil CAMERON, 'Agathias and Cedrenus on Julian', *JRS*, 53 (1963), 91-4.

(27) EVANS, *art. cit.*, 73, for the analysis.

(28) *Or.*, 5. 23 : *PG*, 35. 692 ; cf. R. ASMUS, 'Vergessene Physiognomonika', *Philologus*, 65 (1906), 410-5.

4. Jovian was indeed "characterised by Ammianus principally by his notable height». It might be subjoined that this is the only physical detail mentioned by Cedrenus (p. 54, Bonn). Also worth noting is the piquant comment in both sources that Jovian was too tall to fit any of the clothes in the imperial wardrobe !

5. Valentinian was not an Eastern emperor, but the claim by Cedrenus (p. 541, Bonn) that many thought he bore a striking resemblance to King David is too good to miss. This might be seen as a purely Byzantine fancy – it is naturally not in the version of AMMIANUS, 30. 9. 6, albeit the physical details square in both sources – or a piece of imperial propaganda, contemporary or transposed [29].

6. The lost source behind Leo Grammaticus and Cedrenus in their accounts of Theodosius I and Arcadius is not, *pace* H (227), quite all that we have to go on. The good looks of Theodosius provided a contemporary encomiast with a theme (*Pan. Lat.*, 2. 6. 2); Philostorgius (*HE*, 11. 3) furnishes the details found in later chronicles, mentioning the sleepy, drooping eyes of Arcadius, a predictable mark of dullness. Since a scornful comparison between imperial defects and the alert vigour of Rufinus is involved, it is perfectly possible that the feebleness of Arcadius has been exaggerated for rhetorical purposes, no doubt an everpresent danger in all such sources.

7. H (228), perhaps misled by Gordon's [30] translation of John of Antioch, fr. 193, is wrong in saying that Theodosius II owed his nickname "Little Theodosius" to the small size induced by his palace upbringing. The Greek text reads *οὐδὲν εἶχεν ὑπέρογκον*, meaning that he had no unusual strength or size (cf. CEDRENUS, p. 587, Bonn : *σώματι μέσος τοῦ εὐμήκους*); we may remember that he was fit enough to hunt. Moreover, John does not here call Theodosius *μικρός* but *νέος* [31]. When an emperor is designated as *μικρός*, it is to mark him off from a senior partner. John of Antioch makes a similar distinction between the two Valentinians (fr. 197). Likewise,

(29) Cf. GRABAR, *op. cit.*, 95-7, for the prominence of David in Byzantine iconography.

(30) C D GORDON, *The Age of Attila* (Ann Arbor, 1966), 27.

(31) Theodosius is *μικρός* only in fr. 194, *νεός* in frs. 191, 193, 195.

Leo I became "the Great" after the coronation of his grandson Leo II, who promptly emerges as "the Small" (32).

8. We know more about Marcian than that he was florid (H 228, citing only Leo Grammaticus and Cedrenus). According to Malalas (p. 367, Bonn), he was tall, with gray untrimmed hair, and had something wrong with his feet (33).

9. Leo Grammaticus and Cedrenus are adduced (228) for the description of Leo I as, among other things, beardless (34). Coins from the later part of his reign depict him as bearded (35). If these can be trusted, we have a salutary warning that the typical pen portraits of the chroniclers might mislead by offering only a static picture, takling no account of changes in an individual appearance.

10. Commenting on the lack of any physical description of Leo II, H (228) puts it down to the brevity of his reign or to the fact that "children simply didn't count". The first of these suggestions is much the more plausible. Although there is no consistency (Cedrenus on Jovian has already been observed), ephemeral emperors tend to suffer this fate in the chroniclers : no description in Cedrenus, for instance, of Constans and Constantine II in 337, or of the short-lived Basiliscus in 475-6. There does not seem to have been any prejudice against representing children in the arts. They were commonly included in imperial family portraits. Corippus, in his poem on Justin II, was quite happy to consecrate some flattering lines to the beauty of Sophia's daughter (*In Laud Just.*, 2. 72-83). Anna Comnena includes detailed portraits of royal children, at least in the case of those linked to her by blood or bethrothal (36).

11. Bad emperors are not always ridiculed for their looks. Procopius, for instance, is mild on Justinian, preferring to obtain an

(32) As pointed out by BURY, *LRE* (London, 1923 – repr. New York, 1958), 1, 323 ; cf. *ibid.*, 7.

(33) *στυφόμενος τοὺς πόδας*, a phrase also applied by MALALAS, p. 291, Bonn, to Septimius Severus.

(34) The Greek is actually *ὑπόσπανος τὴν γενειάδα*, rendered as *barba rara* in Migne's Latin version.

(35) Cf. BURY, *LRE* (London, 1923 – repr. New York, 1958), 1, 323, n. 1.

(36) *Alex.*, 3. 1 (Constantine Ducas, Anna's bethrothed) ; 6. 8 (John Comnenus, her brother and future emperor) ; cf. PSELLUS, *Chron.*, 7. 12-3, on the beauty of the infant Constantine Ducas.

effect by comparing his aspect to that of Domitian (*Anecd.*, 8. 12-3). Nevertheless, the extravagant language employed by chroniclers in deriding the apperance of Zeno is more characteristically Byzantine than classical. There is little that is similar in, say, Suetonius or the *Historia Augusta*, even of bad emperors. What one does detect is a strong whiff of Old Comedy, something manifest in comparable contexts in Byzantine satire (37). It is notable that Malalas, normally so eager to furnish or fabricate anatomical details, has nothing on Zeno, a subject offering particular scope for his talents.

H (229) misleads in connecting Zeno's malformed kneecaps and consequent speed in running with his alleged cowardice in the face of both internal and external enemies – always running away. His peculiar knees and speed are emphasised by a most favourable source, the anonymous *Excerpta Valesiana* (9. 40), a document neglected by H. Fast running was a characteristic of Isaurians : witness the exploits of Indacus (38), Zeno's contemporary. The emperor Julian also, a man *not* remarkable for running away, *viribus valebat et cursu* (AMMIANUS, 25. 4. 22, at the conclusion of his necrology, omitted from H's version). Likewise, Constantius *saltu valebat et cursu* (AMMIANUS, 21. 16. 9, also passed over by H).

12. H (229) cites only Malalas (p. 392, Bonn) on the appearance of Anastasius. His powerful build is confirmed by a brief remark in the *Chronicle* (7. 1) of Zacharias of Mitylene. H does not make it clear that the most celebrated feature of this emperor was the difference in colour of his eyes, a quality that earned him the nickname Dikoros (39). In as much as this attribute frequently connoted the possession of supernatural powers, and is credited to characters so diverse as the bard Thamyris, Hector of Troy, and Nysia the wife of Candaules, it is probably a compliment (40). One

(37) The *Mazaris* is full of this sort of thing ; another fine example is the poetic attack in 34 lines, most comprising a single sequipedalian compound, by Constantine the Rhodian on Leo Choerosphactes (text in MATRANGA, *Anecdota Graeca*, 2 (Rome, 1850), 624-5).

(38) *Suda*, I, 368 (Adler) ; on the authorship of this fragment, see B. BALDWIN, 'Priscus of Panium', *Byzantion*, 50 (1980), 58

(39) *Suda*, D, 1103 (Adler).

(40) For Thamyris, cf. EUSTATHIUS, p. 298 ; for Nysia, Ptolemy Hephaestion in PHOTIUS, *Bibl.*, cod 150 ; on Hector and the supernatural properties of this quality, BROWNING, *loc cit.*

physiognomist (41), however, interprets the quality in general terms as indicative of a fickle and insubstantial character.

H does not notice a striking discrepancy of sources on this matter Cedrenus (p. 626, Bonn) says that the eyes of Anastasius were χαροπούς and somewhat gray. Another emperor who seems to have had differently coloured eyes was Theodore Lascaris. According to George Acropolites (p. 34, Bonn), he was ἑτερόφθαλμος. H (238) interprets this as "probably indicating that one of them did not focus properly". However, the epithet in late Greek regularly denotes eyes of different colours (42).

13. Malalas (p. 410, Bonn) is the only authority adduced by H (229) for the physique of Justin I. That he was of more than normal height is confirmed by Procopius (*Anecd.*, 6. 3), albeit Cedrenus (p. 637, Bonn) suggests that he was only average (43).

14. H (229) observes the disagreement between Malalas and Procopius over the height of Justinian : the chronicler says he was short, the historian average. A third version, that of Cedrenus (p. 642, Bonn), making him tall, is ignored. Could this last be a case of a late source misled by the kind of artistic distortion noted earlier of the Barberini ivory ? Also, Justinian's colour may have been unaffected by his fasting, but elsewhere (*Aed.*, 1. 7. 7-11) Procopius says that the habit exacerbated a disease of the knees from which he suffered. Furthermore, as we have already seen, the emperor's ruddiness is exploited by the historian for a malicious comparison with Domitian. Here we can see Procopius teetering between Byzantine taste which admired this hue both in skin and hair and the

(41) Anonymous, in *Cod Paris.*, 2991,adduced by Boissonade on Marinus, *Vit. Procli*, 130.

(42) Cf. BROWNING, *loc. cit* ; *LSJ* cite only *Geopon.*, 16. 2. 1.

(43) Cedrenus says μεσῆλιξ, on which word and its problems see n. 20 above. Malalas calls him διμοιριαῖος, an epithet he also applies to Deiphobus (p. 105), Augustus (p. 232), Peter (p. 256), Nerva (p. 267), and Hadrian (p. 277). The manuscripts vary between this spelling and διμοιραῖος, a form not in the *Lexicon* of E. A. Sophocles, but the only one registered in the vocabulary list of A. FESTUGIÈRE, 'Notabilia dans Malalas', *Rev. Phil.*, 52 (1978), 224. *LSJ* do not treat the word very adequately, adducing for its reference to height only APOLLODORUS, *Poliorc.*, 162. 7.

malice of a Tacitus who (*Agr.*, 45. 2) talks of *saevus ille vultus et rubor quo se contra pudorem muniebat* (44).

15. Add sparseness of beard to the details of Justin II itemized by H (230) from Leo Grammaticus and Cedrenus. The emperor is depicted in the chroniclers as virtually an "All-American Boy" in terms of good looks. Which makes the reticence of his contemporary panegyrist Corippus all that more remarkable – and suspicious (45).

16. The tall and handsome body of Tiberius II is confirmed by EVAGRIUS, *HE*, 5. 13, who significantly observes that he was handsome by any standards, not merely imperial ones (46). The later chroniclers (e.g. CEDRENUS, p. 688, Bonn) say that he was good and magnanimous to excess (εἰς ὑπερβολήν) (47). H (230) cites this, not noting that we have here an interesting example of late miscopying or deliberate perversion of an earlier source : in Evagrius, it is the stature of Tiberius that is εἰς ὑπεροχήν, not his philanthropy.

17. H's version (230) of the chroniclers' description of Maurice omits the detail of his good nose ; the late epic form (εὖριν) of the epithet in question may betray the source as a contemporary verse eulogy. Late accounts of Maurice could also have been influenced by the series of murals depicting his achievements from childhood to the throne commissioned by the emperor for his Karianos portico addition to the Blachernae (THEOPHANES, A. M. 6079, p. 261 de Boor).

18. "It is only with the reign of Phokas that we again find an emperor with a really distinctive beard". So H (230), in the course of some general remarks about the history of beards. Yet Cedrenus (p. 708, Bonn) describes this emperor as τὸ γένειον χειρόμενος ! It might be thought that Phocas would cultivate hispidity to disguise

(44) Cf. PLINY, *Pan.*, 48 ; in the young, unknown Domitian, his blush was wrongly interpreted as betokening modesty : TACITUS, *Hist.*, 4. 40. 1.

(45) Corippus offers very little on the appearance of Justin, save for a brief and conventional reference to *angelicis oculis exaequans sidera caeli* (*In Laud. Just.*, 4. 247, with Stache's note).

(46) Cf. Averil CAMERON, 'Early Byzantine *Kaiserkritik* : Two Case Histories', *BMGS*, 3 (1977), 12.

(47) A qualification distorted in the *bonus fuit et animo insigniter magno* rendition in Migne.

his disfiguring facial scar. Yet the impression given in the chroniclers is of a man who played up his ugliness to terrifying advantage.

19. H (230-1) cites Leo Grammaticus and unspecified numismatic evidence for the maintenance and cultivation of Heraclius' beard throughout his reign. This ignores the statement of Cedrenus (48) (p. 714, Bonn) that Heraclius shaved off his beard to conform to the imperial style immediately (*εὐθέως*) after ascending the throne (49). If this is true, H cannot be right in ascribing the popularity of beards in Byzantine fashion to emulation of Heraclius.

20. "From Herakleios-Constantine in 641 to Michael Rhangabe in 811 one searches in vain for any such (sc. physical) details". This overlooks the hint dropped by Cedrenus (p. 753, Bonn : *ἀσθενὴς τὸ σῶμα*) as to the physique of the son of Heraclius. It also ignores Constantine Pogonatus, whichever emperor this actually was (50). Since there can be nothing remarkable about an imperial beard as such if all the emperors had them, and since no imperial beard is outstanding for anything save size, perhaps this emperor rather than Phocas or Heraclius should get the credit for setting the fashion.

21. H (231) calls for more investigation of this dearth of details, suggesting that the iconoclasts may have destroyed official portraits of their orthodox predecessors, thus robbing the chroniclers of a vital source. This does not seem very likely. It was religious art that attracted the fury of the iconoclasts, not secular. The emperors in question continued to commission artists to decorate both palaces and churches (51) ; and, of course, they put their own heads on coins. Furthermore, there is some evidence that no sustained obliteration of the likenesses of their predecessors took place. For instance, the *Παραστάσεις σύντομοι χρονικαί*, agreed by competent authorities (52) to

(48) Who also differs over the matter of Heraclius' eyes, calling him *ὀλίγον ὑπόγλαυκος*.

(49) Just as Maurice had shaved off his, to conform to "Roman style".

(50) Constantine IV on the traditional view, found, e.g., in BURY, *LRE* (London), 1889), 2, 308, and retained by GRABAR, *op cit.*, 9, n. 2. E. W. BROOKS, 'Who was Constantine Poganatus ?', *BZ*, 17 (1908), 460-2, gave cogent reasons for preferring Constans II, in which he is followed by, for notable instance, G. OSTROGORSKY, *History of the Byzantine State* (London, 1968), 114.

(51) Cf. RUNCIMAN, *op cit.*, 89.

(52) C. MANGO, *The Brazen House* (Copenhagen, 1959), 10 ; Alan CAMERON, *Porphyrius the Charioteer* (Oxford, 1973), 112, n. 2.

have been compiled in the reign of that arch-iconoclast Constantine V, describe (82) not only a picture of Philippicus Bardanes in the Zeuxippus, but also critical discussions by other painters of its verisimilitude. The later Byzantines knew, or thought they knew, what earlier rulers had looked like. Antony of Novgorod, a pilgrim to Constantinople around 1200, describes a gallery in St. Sophia wherein were painted *all* the emperors in Byzantine history, with subtitles indicating which ones had been heretics (53). Likewise, and no doubt in imitation, the imperial palace of Trebizond contained pictures both of the emperors from Andronicus I Comnenus down to Bessarion's time and their ancestors (54).

Another factor not taken into account by H is that the major literary source for much of the period in question is Theophanes, a compiler (in Bury's (55) words) "not wont to reproduce these physical descriptions".

22. As H (236) observes, it is a matter of dispute whether the handsome manuscript miniatures from the reign of Nicephorus Botaniates genuinely represent that emperor or are retouched portraits of Michael Ducas. It may be added that the lack of physical details in the literary sources, given their almost uniform hostility towards him (56), probably implies that Botaniates was at any rate not spectacularly ugly.

23. H (237) implies that Anna Comnena (*Alex.*, 6. 8) exaggerates the ugliness of her infant brother, the future emperor John II. There can be no doubt that, for highly personal reasons, Anna disrelished John. Yet her description, whilst hardly flattering in the light of her normal canons of beauty, is not grotesque (57). Nor is Anna alone in thinking the child no masterpiece of beauty ; William of Tyre (15. 23) emphasizes his dark ugliness (58). Moreover, the irony that H

(53) I rely on the translation provided by C. MANGO, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312-1453* (New Jersey, 1972), 237.

(54) According to Bessarion's *Encomium of Trebizond.*, transl. MANGO, *Art of the byzantine Empire*, 252-3.

(55) *LRE* (London, 1889), 2, 207, n. 1.

(56) On the sources for Botaniates, BUCKLER, *op. cit.*, 261.

(57) Some slight affinity of language with the Procopian account of Theodora (*Anecd.*, 10. 11) may or may not be accidental.

(58) See BUCKLER, *op. cit.*, 249, to whom I owe this reference.

finds in his growing up to be known as Handsome John should be tempered by the possibility that (as Gibbon thought) the hypocorism was itself ironically intended.

24. "Of Constantine XI we have no authentic description or contemporary portrait". Elsewhere (59), however, H provides a description based on near contemporary portraits, whilst other scholars (60) derive a picture of wiry thinness from wax impressions of his great seal of state.

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(59) *Imperial Twilight* (Chicago, 1977), 147.
(60) E.g. D. STACTON, *The World on the Last Day* (London, 1965), 130.

'DIGENES AKRITES' AND MODERN GREEK FOLK SONG : A REASSESSMENT

The controversy surrounding the origin and nature of the Byzantine poem *Digenes Akrites* is as old as our knowledge of the text. In the last hundred years discussion has ranged across several disciplines, including literature, textual criticism, history and folklore, and has touched at important points on such disparate fields as Russian, Arabic, Armenian and early Turkish studies. My aim in the present paper is to deal with a single aspect of this controversy, namely that of the relation between the medieval *Digenes Akrites* and the Greek oral folk poetry of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Ever since the discovery of the first manuscript of the poem in 1870 this relationship has been the subject of speculation. My hope is that today, when recent studies in contemporary oral poetry provide the groundwork for a less speculative approach to this problem, it will be possible to clear the ground of some of the uncertainty which bedevils equally studies of the medieval text and of modern Greek oral tradition. My approach to *Digenes* arises out of my work on modern Greek oral poetry, which has led me to doubt the existence of '*akritika*' as a separate category of modern ballads directly originating in the 10th century or earlier, and so to try to explain the relationship between the Byzantine poem and modern folk poetry in a way more consistent with what we now know of the latter (1).

(1) My thanks are due to a number of people for their help and advice in the preparation of this paper : to Dr. Michael Herzfeld for a stimulating and by now long-standing correspondence on the subject of Digenis in Greek ballads, to Professor Anthony Bryer, Dr. Elizabeth Jeffreys, Dr. Michael Jeffreys, and Professor Nikos Panayotakis, who read and commented on draft versions, and particularly to Dr. Margaret Alexiou for her invaluable assistance at all stages of the work. The opinions expressed, and their shortcomings, are of course, my responsibility alone.

We first hear of an 'acritic cycle' of ballads in 1875, when the term, first coined by Constantine Sathas two years previously, was adopted by the first editors of *Digenes Akrites*. The ballads referred to were recently collected pieces which, they believed, preserved popular traces of a historical hero and events enshrined in the medieval poem (2). In the state of ballad scholarship of the time the idea of a 'cycle' of ballads, substantially very ancient but distorted and confused by the vagaries of oral tradition, was a plausible one ; and the identification of an 'akritic' cycle was particularly irresistible as the medieval manuscript had been discovered in Pontos, the home of the modern ballad hero Akritas (3). Subsequent discoveries have not confirmed this hunch of the first editors.

Although the different versions of the poem, and to a very much smaller extent certain folk songs, do indeed contain references to a real historical period, no convincing historical prototype for Akrites himself has been discovered, and most of his story is patently non-historical (4). What is more, 'Akritas' or 'Akritis' in folk song has

(2) C. SATHAS. *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*. II (Venice, 1873), p. L ; C. SATHAS and E. LEGRAND. *Les exploits de Digénis Akritas* (Paris, 1875), pp. XLVI-LXIII.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. XVII.

(4) Henri Grègoire thought he had found one in a turmarch and 'capable man' Diogenes, killed in battle in 788 and buried at Trosis near Samosata (close to the site of Digenes' adventures in the second part of the poem). H. GRÉGOIRE. 'Le tombeau et la date de Digénis Akritas (Samosata, vers 940 après J.-C.)'. *Byzantion*, 6 (1931), pp. 481-508, reprinted in GRÉGOIRE. *Autour de l'épopée byzantine* (Variorum Reprints, London, 1975). Part of the appeal of this identification seems to have been that Diogenes died only 10 years after Roland at Roncevaux, and it has not found general acceptance. See for example, S. KYRIAKIDIS. "*Παρατηρήσεις εἰς τὰ ἀκριτικὰ ἔπη*". *Laografia*, 10 (1928), pp. 623 ff., J. MAVROGORDATO. *Digenes Akrites* (Oxford, 1956), pp. LXVII, LXXI-II, LXXXIII ; K. ROMAIOS. "*Διγενής – τὸ μεγάλο πρόβλημα τῆς καταγωγῆς τῶν ἀκριτικῶν τραγουδιῶν*". *Ἀρχεῖον Πόντου*, 26 (1964), pp. 197-230 ; L. POLITIS. 'L'épopée byzantine de Digénis Akritas ; problèmes de la tradition du texte et des rapports avec les chansons akritiques', in *Atti del Convegno Internazionale sul Tema : La Poesia Epica e la sua Formazione*. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei (Rome, 1970), p. 578 (reprinted in L. POLITIS. *Paléographie et littérature byzantine et néogrecque* (Variorum Reprints, London, 1975) ; H.-G. BECK. *Geschichte der byzantinischen Volksliteratur* (Munich, 1971), p. 85.

A new solution, which makes Digenes historical but already the subject of a long and mythicised oral tradition by the 10th century, has been put forward by Michael JEFFREYS ("Digenis Akritas and Kommagene". *Svenska Forskningsinstitutet i Istanbul Meddelanden*, 3 (1978), pp 5-28)

turned out to be no more than a local preservation in Pontos and Cappadocia, with a vestigial trace in Cyprus. '*Akritika*' are still, however, treated as a separate category of modern folk songs, the immediate descendants of the popular ballads of the 9th and 10th centuries, by all modern editors of Greek folk poetry and by most commentators on them (5).

According to N. G. Politis, the founding father of the modern Greek science of *laografia*, these ballads are older than the medieval poem and are in fact the direct and principal source for it (6). So great has been Politis' influence, both as scholar and nationalist, that almost all writers on *Digenes* since have payed at least lip-service to this idea, and some a great deal more. It was taken up with enthusiasm by Politis' immediate successor S. Kyriakidis and by Henri Grégoire, both of whom sought to show that the poem *Digenes Akrites* had in its earliest version been composed in the popular language. But even commentators such as D. C. Hesseling, who believed on the contrary that *Digenis* in its original form had been a learned composition, were prepared to accept its ultimate derivation from these 'akritic' ballads (7). So prevalent was this idea between the wars that W. J. Entwistle could write in 1939, without qualification, that "the priority of the ballads over the epos is taken for granted by modern scholars" (8).

Doubts began to be raised soon afterwards. Petros Kalonaros, the first to undertake a complete edition of the principal versions, argued on the contrary that certain modern ballads, at least, were derived from the medieval poem, whose literary character and derivation he stressed. Kalonaros did not, however, disagree with Politis to the extent of absolutely denying the role of popular ballads as one source for the poem. He accepted that the literary poem was

(5) The established system of classification of Greek folk songs has been repeatedly challenged by M. Herzfeld. See in particular his discussion of Digenis in the folk songs, 'Social borderers : themes of conflict and ambiguity in Greek folk-songs', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 6 (1980), pp. 61-80.

(6) N. G. Politis, "*Περὶ τοῦ ἐθνικοῦ ἔπους τῶν νεωτέρων Ἑλλήνων*" (Athens, 1906) = *Λαογραφικὰ Σύμμεικτα*, I (Athens, 1920), pp. 237-260 ; "*Τὸ ἐθνικὸν ἔπος τοῦ Διγενῆ Ἀκρίτου*", *Laografia*, 3 (1911), p. 217.

(7) D. C. Hesseling, 'Le roman de Digénis Akritas d'après le manuscrit de Madrid', *Laografia*, 3 (1911), pp. 545-6.

(8) *European balladry* (Oxford, 1939), p. 305.

inspired by 'akritic' ballads but added the sensible point that nothing more could be said about these ballads – they no longer existed. Kalonaros seems to have been the first to perceive that the relation between the oral and written traditions may have continued to exist after the formation of the latter, and so have been more complex than N. G. Politis or Kyriakidis had imagined. Kalonaros suggested that the medieval poem, a literary work based on 'akritic' folk songs *now lost*, became in turn the source for a later generation of akritic songs which survive (9).

A rather different proposition was put forward by Mavrogordato in his edition of the Grottaferrata MS. This was that the whole question of the ballads had been overstated. The origin of the poem, which he too considered as a literary rather than a popular work, he was content to locate in "floating folk-story" ; and he pointed out that the actual similarities between the modern songs and the medieval poem are very few. In his conspectus of episodes found in each version of the story only three out of a possible twenty-one appear under the heading of 'ballads', and he also observed that the names Digenis and Akritas are rare in the ballad tradition (10).

Although discussion continues about the linguistic level of the earliest *Digenes*, the antiquity of the ballad tradition and its role as a source for the poem continues to be taken for granted, even by scholars such as L. Politis and A. Pertusi who have done much to cast doubt on this relationship. It is true that there is less insistence among these scholars on the identity of the 10th-century 'akritic' songs with those of today, but the assumption remains of an oral 'akritic' tradition which at a remote point in time inspired the poem of *Digenes* and then remained inert for a thousand years (11).

Only two recent attempts have been made to restate the relationship between *Digenes Akrites* and the ballads, but neither takes its

(9) P. P. KALONAROS, *Βασίλειος Διγενὴς Ἀκρίτας · τὰ ἔμμετρα κείμενα*, 2 vols (Athens, 1941), I, pp. XXXIII-IV.

(10) MAVROGORDATO, *Digenes Akrites*, pp. XXVI-IX.

(11) See for instance L. POLITIS, *A history of modern Greek literature* (Oxford, 1973), pp. 23-5 ; E. TRAPP, *Digenes Akrites – synoptische Ausgabe der ältesten Versionen* (Vienna, 1971), pp. 43-6 ; S. ALEXIOU, *Ἀκριτικά : τὸ πρόβλημα τῆς ἐγχυρότητας τοῦ κειμένου Ε – χρονολόγηση – ἀποκατάσταση χωρίων – ἑρμηνευτικά* (Iraklion, 1979), p. 87.

argument quite to its logical conclusion. A. Pertusi, in a detailed discussion of the historical background to the poem, finds that folk songs of the 'akritic' cycle have meagre connections indeed with the medieval poem, but that a surprising number of common elements can be found with folk songs which he attributes to other 'cycles', narrative poems, that is, which have no observable connection with Digenes, Akrites, or the loosely defined 'akritic cycle' (12) ; while L. Politis, from a literary standpoint, demonstrates that many of the apparent verbal and stylistic similarities are the result of the influence of oral folk song on redactors of the poem at a late stage in its transmission, and not an integral part of its composition (13).

Neither argument goes as far as Mavrogordato's in discounting the resemblances between the poem and the folk songs, and both revert in the end to older positions. Pertusi ends by allowing the basic premise of N. G. Politis and his followers, that ballads similar to the modern ones must have been current in the 10th century, even although his argument up to that point had greatly undermined the evidence for this. He has therefore to conclude that for some reason the author of the poem made scant and unsystematic use of them. Politis also accepts the existence of the modern 'akritic' tradition in the 10th century, but, ending with a modified form of Kalonaros' position, decides that the literary poem must in its turn have been the direct origin of a small number of 'akritic' folk songs in which Digenis is the central figure. I have argued elsewhere that both of these conclusions can be avoided : my own analysis of Greek folk song, including 'akritic' songs, as an oral tradition shows that it is highly improbable that recognisable 'originals' of individual modern ballads would have existed at the time *Digenes* was composed. And as for Politis' argument about the modern songs in which Digenis is actually named, it is perfectly possible that the name, alone, of Digenes should have become popular and been taken over into folk songs whose themes were already traditional, at any time in the evolution of the modern songs.

(12) A. PERTUSI, 'La poesia epica bizantina e la sua formazione : problemi sul fondo storico e la struttura letteraria del "Digenis Akritas" ', in *Atti del Convegno Internazionale sul Tema : La Poesia Epica e la sua Formazione*, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei (Rome, 1970), pp. 481-549.

(13) 'L'épopée'.

The logical conclusion of the arguments of Mavrogordato, Politis and Pertusi is that there is no relation at all between *Digenes* and the modern tradition of folk songs, and that the category of '*akritika*' is quite meaningless, as I have concluded elsewhere (14). Since then however I have been impressed by two things – first by the uncharacteristic unanimity of several generations of scholars, despite their often mutually contradictory views of *Digenes* and sometimes erroneous ideas about oral folk poetry, that there *was* some kind of a relation ; and secondly by the observation of Pertusi – that while there is a lack of convincing similarities between *Digenes* and the 'akritic' cycle of songs, there are significant things in the poem which immediately remind one of *other* modern Greek songs.

In re-examining the evidence I have found that there is a consistent and systematic relation not between particular ballads and all or part of the medieval poem, but between component themes of the ballad tradition and certain of the episodes of which *Digenes* is constructed.

The episodic nature of the poem has often enough been noted, as has the still more significant reduplication of individual episodes (15). The method of composition which is evident in the poem, whereby a story is built up of narrative units many of which could stand alone, is known in studies of oral poetry as 'composition by theme', and is also characteristic of the structure of modern Greek folk songs (16). The implications of this kind of composition in *Digenes* must be the subject of another paper (17) ; here I need only stress that in comparing the episodes of *Digenes* with the themes of modern folk poetry I do not mean to imply any more about the nature of that poem than has already been widely recognised.

There is nothing new in comparing episodes or themes of *Digenes* with those of 'akritic' or other folk songs. But previous attempts, from those of N. G. Politis and Grégoire onwards, have been tantalisingly inconclusive because these scholars still approached

(14) R. BEATON, *Folk poetry of modern Greece* (Cambridge, 1980), pp. 81-2.

(15) TRAPP, *Digenes Akrites*, p. 69.

(16) A. B. LORD, *The singer of tales* (Cambridge, Mass., 1960), ch. 4 ; BEATON, *Folk poetry*, pp. 65-9.

(17) See 'Was *Digenes Akrites* an oral poem ?' *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 7 (1981), in press.

folk songs as if they were literary texts. The thematic resemblance between *Digenes* and any single folk song or group of close variants is only in exceptional cases impressive, and is in no case strong enough to warrant the conclusion that either has been the source of the other. But once it is realised that an oral tradition such as that of Greek folk song is not a collection of finite texts like those of literature, but is a fluid, creative process, in which variation is a deliberate art and not the result of amnesia or 'contamination', then it becomes futile to regard each individual song as the 'corrupted' but otherwise direct derivative of a single, definable archetype. To simplify only slightly, the component elements of any song as once recorded, may be dismantled by singers and put together with elements found in other songs, to result in an 'oral text' which is neither, in literary terms, an original composition nor a 're-issue' of the first. The tradition of folk poetry is built upon the use and re-use of a relatively restricted number of themes, in different combinations and with numerous internal inversions and transformations.

These themes are not the 'motifs' of historical-geographical folklore, which proved so elusive and incapable of adequate definition even by those who studied them most [18]. Themes in Yugoslav oral epic poetry were defined by A. B. Lord as "groups of ideas regularly used" in telling a traditional tale [19], so that in comparing the themes of different traditions it is not enough to identify merely a single narrative unit or 'motif' : the theme is a cluster of such units, held together by what Lord termed a "tension of essences" [20], a kind of mutual cohesion, and within which systematic transformations and inversions can take place. It is the coincidence of a number of themes so understood, between the

(18) Stith Thompson, author of the compendious *Motif-index of folk-literature* (Copenhagen and Indiana, 1955-8), and a leading historical-geographical folklorist, has given the following non-definition : "Certain items in narrative keep on being used by story-tellers ; they are the stuff out of which tales are made. It makes no difference exactly what they are like ; if they are actually useful in the construction of tales, they are considered to be motifs... And many motifs are nothing more than a reflection of a whole world of belief which forms a background of narrative". 'Narrative motif-analysis as a folklore method', *FF Communications* (Helsinki), 161 (1955), pp. 7-8.

(19) *Singer*, p. 68.

(20) *Ibid.*, p. 98.

tradition represented by the different manuscripts of *Digenes* and that represented by the modern songs, that seems to indicate a real relationship between these two traditions and may also help us to define that relationship more precisely than has so far been possible.

I wish to illustrate this by reference to six themes, each of which occurs at least once as an episode in *Digenes* and is also found, in different contexts, in the modern song tradition. None of these themes is necessarily restricted to oral poetry, and as we shall see, the ways in which they are used in the poem and in the modern songs make it improbable that any single song was the source for an episode in the poem, or that any episode in the poem was the sole derivation for a theme now current in the song tradition. At least one of these themes, that of the prodigious growth of the hero, is much older than either of the traditions we are considering, and seems to have had a long history both in literature and in oral tradition.

For each theme references are given first to its occurrences in the three principal versions of *Digenes* in the edition of Professor E. Trapp (21), and then to the folk songs. As many thousands of these have been collected and published since the pioneering collection of Claude Fauriel (22), and the material is theoretically infinite (we can never suppose that every variation sung has been recorded), the references I have given are intended to represent a sampling of the tradition, and I have made no attempt to collect all known instances

(21) The dating which will be assumed for the different MSS is that given by L. Politis ('L'épopée'). Grottaferrata (G) – 1250-1300; Escorial (E) – 1450-1500; and the group made up of Trebizond (T), Athens (A), Prose (P) and Oxford (O) – 17th century. I have chosen to refer to Trapp's parallel edition of the three main branches of the MS tradition, since his MS 'Z', a hypothetical archetype for the TAPO group, conveniently and accurately reflects the narrative *content* of this branch of the tradition. By its nature, however, this 'Z' version is of no help in examining the style and characteristics of the different versions, since the T, A, P, and O versions differ widely in these respects. For a critique of Trapp's methods and conclusions in establishing this version see the reviews of E. JEFFREYS, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 92 (1972), pp. 253-5 and L. POLITIS, *Scriptorium*, 27 (1973), pp. 327-351, as well as M. JEFFREYS, 'Digenis Akritas Manuscript Z', *Dodoni*, 4 (1975), pp. 163-201. Line references throughout are to Trapp's revised numbering.

(22) *Chants populaires de la Grèce moderne*, 2 vols (Paris, 1824-5).

of each theme. For convenience I have therefore referred wherever possible to the representative collection of Professor D. Petropoulos [23].

1. Abduction

It had already been noted by Grégoire that this theme in the poem had close counterparts in songs outside the 'akritic' cycle [24]. In fact it exists in two forms, of which one is an inversion of the other. The first is

1a. *Abduction and rescue.*

Digenes Akrites – G 1-298, E 1-187, Z 268-522. The girl who is later to become the mother of Digenes is abducted by the Emir, her brothers set out in pursuit and are eventually reunited with her.

– G 442-592, E 309-473, Z 709-868. The brothers, learning of the Emir's impending departure with their sister, who is now his wife, again set off in pursuit, confront him a second time and compel him to leave her behind with them.

– G 2449-3138, E 1142-1595, Z 2889-3751. 'Rescue' precedes and thwarts abduction, in the efforts of the *apelatai* to seize Digenes' bride and his successful defence of her.

– G 1916-8, Z 2294-5. A brief summary prefigures these events.

Folk songs – 'Kostantas'/'Porfyris'. An enemy musters an army to carry off the hero's wife, which he appears to allow, even, in some versions, allowing himself to be tightly bound. Having given the abductor a head start, he unties himself with a prodigious feat of strength, mounts his talking and miraculously swift horse, massacres his enemy's forces and rescues his wife [25].

– 'Mikro Vlachopoulo'. A young hero is warned by a supernatural agent that his wife or family has been abducted and he rides

(23) *Ἑλληνικὰ δημοτικὰ τραγούδια*, 2 vols (Athens, 1958-9). *Βασικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη* ἀρ. 46-7.

(24) H. Grégoire, 'Autour de Digénis Akritas. Les cantilènes et la date de la recension d'Andros-Trébizonde', *Byzantion*, 7 (1932), pp. 287-302, reprinted in *Autour*.

(25) Petropoulos, I, pp 59-60.

out to recapture them (26). In a version of this theme from Pontos the hero is called Akritas (27). In some of these songs the theme of the miraculous horse is also found (28).

– 'The Dead Brother'. In this group of songs the theme, in the form of the recovery of a sister married abroad against her mother's will, is found in a macabre setting (29).

1b. *Abduction and marriage.*

Digenes Akrites – The theme in this form concludes the story already cited of the abduction of Digenes' mother by the Emir and her brothers' recapture of her. Here it is evident that the poem employs successively a theme and its inversion which are commonly alternatives.

– G 1535-1903, E 903-1080, Z 1956-2258. Digenes' successful abduction of his bride from the house of her father, the General, the latter's pursuit and Digenes' marriage to the girl.

Folk songs – 'Abduction of the daughter of Levandis' etc. Digenis, aided by Filopappos abducts his chosen bride as she is about to be married to the groom of her parents' choice (30).

– The 'myth' of the successful abduction as a prestigious means of winning a bride is attested by songs mentioned under 1a above. It is also present in the ritual celebration of a traditional Greek wedding, which emphasises the physical and symbolic loss of the bride by her family and expropriation by that of her husband (31). This is nowhere more explicit than among the Sarakatsan nomads of northwestern Greece, where, amid formalised hostilities the bride is taken from her parents' hut by the groom's men, to be married first at the home of the groom and in the presence of his kinsmen, and only subsequently allowed to return with them for a second

(26) *Ibid.*, pp. 48-9.

(27) KALONAROS, *Βασίλειος Διγενὴς Ἀκρίτας*, II, pp. 237-8.

(28) FAURIEL, *Chants populaires*, II, pp. 140-4.

(29) PETROPOULOS, I, 69-71.

(30) *Ibid.*, pp. 8-14.

(31) See M. ALEXIOU and P. DRONKE, 'The lament of Jephtha's daughter: themes, traditions, originality', *Studi Medievali* (Spoleto), 3rd series, 12/2 (1971), pp. 819-863.

round of festivities among her own family (32). Exactly this pattern is followed in *Digenes Akrites* (G 1884-7, only).

Before leaving the theme of the abduction another parallel must be mentioned, between the *attempted* abduction of Digenes' bride at the oasis listed under 1a and the song of the daughter of Levandis. This thematic resemblance was first explored by Grégoire, who took it as evidence that this episode in the poem was a re-working of this very folk song, tailored for an audience of more sedate morals (33). Not only is the basic theme common to both, but so are the names of the principal characters. When the themes are set out side by side, however, it emerges that the relationship between them is exactly symmetrical :

Digenes Akrites – Philopappous *willingly* helps *Ioannakes* to steal *Digenes'* bride. Result : *failure.*

Folk song – Filopappos *unwillingly* helps *Digenis* to steal *Yannakis'* bride. Result : *success.*

It is at this point that we have to seek a common, underlying stock of themes, rather than to try to account for such a systematic relationship in terms of casual copying and adapting (34).

2. The girl hidden away alone in a fabulous setting

Digenes Akrites – Z 75-156. The theme is lavishly elaborated in the controversial 'astrological prologue', found only in the A, P and O texts, and widely regarded as a late interpolation, although Trapp retains it as an integral part of the manuscript tradition represented by his version 'Z' (35). Either way it presents yet another instance of

(32) J. K. Campbell, *Honour, family and patronage : a study of institutions and moral values in a Greek mountain community* (Oxford, 1964), pp. 132-8.

(33) H. Grégoire, *Ὁ Διγενὴς Ἀκρίτας* (New York, 1942), pp. 175-180.

(34) The theme of abduction is not of course confined to Greek tradition. According to W. J. Entwistle "It rules in Asia Minor and the Balkans, but is exceptional in the Russian, Germanic, or Romance areas", and he cites comparative material from eastern epics which may have been contemporary with *Digenes*, notably the Sharkan story from the *Arabian Nights* and the Armenian epic *David of Sassoun* ("Bride-snatching and the 'Deeds of Digenis' ", *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, 4 (1953), pp. 1-16). There is also a striking parallel in the Turkmen *Book of Dede Korkut*, Legend VI (pointed out by Professor Bryer).

(35) See Politis, 'L'épopée', pp. 563-5 ; Trapp, *Digenes Akrites*, pp. 29-33 ; M.

reduplication in the poem, and so must be listed here. An only daughter is shut away in a beautiful palace and garden to protect her from the dangers of love. The fabulous beauty of both girl and setting is detailed at some length.

– G 279-284, E 161-176, Z 499-505. The same girl, having been abducted by the Emir despite this precaution, is found by her brothers. The Emir has not touched her, but has kept her alone in his tent, lying on a divan strewn with gold while she herself "shines like the sun's rays". (This episode is interesting as an exact inversion of the theme as more commonly found. Instead of the girl being chastely concealed by her family from a potential lover or abductor, here it is the abductor who conceals her, again chastely, from her family).

– G 1219-1222, Z 1657-1661. When the young Digenes first sets eyes on the General's daughter whom he will later abduct and marry, she is at the window of a fabulous palace, all of gold, marble and mosaic, in which she is alone. The context for this description is ostensibly an account of the great wealth of the General, but the emphasis on the girl's "lonely chamber" (*μοναχὸν κουβούκλιον*) and the news some thirty lines later that all her suitors have been beheaded or blinded by her father, leave us in little doubt that this girl too has been shut away to avoid the effects of Eros.

It is striking that in two cases where this theme occurs in the poem it actually prompts the action it is supposed to forestall, and in all three it is closely associated with a theme which ought to be its opposite, that of marriage. The progression here seems to be dictated by Lord's "tension of essences", an architectonic balancing of opposing themes, rather than by rational consideration of cause and effect, and this is also a general feature of the structure of Greek folk songs.

Folk songs – 'The Dead Brother'. A mother of many sons and one daughter keeps her daughter in a state of extreme seclusion – she has never seen the sun and is washed and groomed by starlight, on moonless nights (36). This seclusion is followed by the same balance

JEFFREYS, 'The astrological prologue of Digenis Akritas', *Byzantion*, 46 (1976), pp. 375-397.

(36) PETROPOULOS, I, p. 69.

of themes as we encountered in *Digenes Akrites*, which is again dictated by architectonic rather than logical considerations : the immediate sequel is the offer of marriage in a distant place.

– 'Harzanis'/'The Lover Disguised as a Woman'. The hero sometimes falls in love with the woman he will seduce through seeing her alone at a window with some fabulous attribute (37).

– Lyrical love songs.

> *Τὸ βλέπεις κεῖνο τὸ βουνό, π' ἄλλο ψηλὸ δὲν εἶναι ;*
> *'Εκεῖ 'ναι πύργος γυάλινος μὲ κρουσταλλένια τζάμια.*
> *Μέσα κοιμᾶται μιὰ ξανθή, μιᾶς χήρας δυχατέρα* (38).
> Do you see that mountain over there, higher than any other ?
> There there's a tower of glass with crystal windows.
> Inside a blonde girl is asleep, a widow's daughter.

Invocations similar to this often serve to introduce these lyrical songs.

3. The threat of a mother's curse

Digenes Akrites – G 51-2 ; 109, E 2, Z 292-3. The brothers setting out to recapture their sister abducted by the Emir are threatened with their mother's curse should they fail.

– G 406, E 282, Z 644. The Emir is recalled by his mother to Syria and threatened with her curse should he not do so.

In each case the threat is sufficient to compel instant obedience, despite grave dangers.

Folk songs – 'The Dead Brother'. The power of his mother's curse is sufficient to raise the dead Kostantinos from his grave to fetch back his sister from abroad, in fulfilment of a vow.

– Vengeance songs of Mani. The command of a mother to a young child, traditional in these songs, to avenge his murdered father when he grows up is backed by the threat of her curse (39).

– Lyrical songs. The dire consequences of a mother's curse are lamented (40).

(37) *Ibid.*, pp. 93-6, ll. 11-17.
(38) Petropoulos, II, p. 76, cf. *ibid.*, p. 48, No. 19A ; p. 76, No. 78.
(39) K. Pasayanis, *Μανιάτικα μοιρολόγια καὶ τραγούδια* (Athens, 1928), p. 85.
(40) Petropoulos, I, p. 14, No. 4.

4. Man's departure at night and woman's plea

Digenes Akrites – G 2160-2183, Z 2565-2589. The theme forms part of the story of the daughter of Haplorrabdes. The girl and her lover, having eloped together, spend the night at an oasis. During the night the faithless lover rises furtively and loads his horses ready to make off. The girl awakes just as he is going and quickly prepares to follow, *dressing herself as a man*, as that was the guise in which she had stolen from her parents' house. As he rides away she shouts after him,

> *Ἀπέρχεσαι, ὦ φίλτατε, ἐμὲ λιπὼν ποῦ μόνην* ; (G 2171)
> You are going, dearest, and where are you leaving me alone ?

Finally she begs him in vain to take pity on her.

Folk songs – 'Mikrokostantinos'/'The Shepherd-Wife'. The young hero, just married, is called away to war. He prepares for his departure by night and is reproached by his wife :

> *Μισεύεις, Κωσταντάκη μου, κι ἐμένα ποῦ μ' ἀφήνεις* ;
> You are going, my Kostantakis, and were do you leave *me* ?

He then leaves her in the care of his mother, who abuses her, *dressing her as a man*, and giving her a man's job to do (41).

– Lyrical songs of exile. A man is ready to leave the country of his exile and return home. He prepares his horse at night and is intercepted by his mistress, who begs him to take her with him. He refuses. Where he is going is a place for men and fighters, he says, whereupon she offers (in vain) to *dress as a man* and follow him (42).

– Lyrical songs of the lower world. Three men plot to escape from Hades and are overheard by a girl who begs to be allowed to join them. They raise various objections, which have to do with her sex, so she offers to cut her hair or *dress as a man* (43).

In each of these examples there is an interesting cohesion between the theme of nocturnal departure and what is really the separate theme of the girl dressed as a man. More striking still is that this

(41) *Ibid.*, pp. 127-8.

(42) Fauriel, *Chants populaires*, II, p. 126.

(43) A. Passow, *Popularia carmina Graeciae recentioris* (Leipzig, 1860), pp. 300-2.

cohesion between themes which have no logical connection, also holds good for the episode in *Digenes Akrites*, where there is no good reason for the daughter of Haplorrabdes to be dressed as a man (indeed a rather apologetic explanation has had to be added) and the fact is mentioned nowhere else in the episode. Such a resemblance can hardly be coincidental ; but it must also be remembered that the folk songs in which these two themes are found together narrate quite different stories – and that none of them is recognisably that of the daughter of Haplorrabdes as it is found in *Digenes*.

5. The youngest brother is chosen to play a key role

Digenes Akrites – G 100-103. The brothers, in pursuit of the Emir who has abducted their sister, draw lots to meet the Emir in single combat. The lot falls to the youngest, young (*mikros*) Konstantinos. E begins with some confusion at this point and does not specify that the brother duelling with the Emir is the youngest, nor are we told how he has been chosen. But he is twice named in this version as Konstantis (39 ; 638). Z omits the drawing of lots and inverts the position of the brother, making him the eldest (287-8), although he is again called *young* (νέος) Konstantinos (302).

– G 444, E 309, Z 711. The second pursuit by the brothers of the Emir and their sister is prompted by a dream sent from God. In all the versions it is the *youngest* of the brothers who sees the dream.

– G 1054, E 665, Z 1382. Konstantinos reappears as the child Digenes' favourite uncle ; at any rate he is the only one of his mother's five brothers to be mentioned after the hero's birth. G is again explicit that he is the youngest of the brothers, while E and Z are content merely to name him.

Folk songs – 'Mikrokostantinos'/'The Shepherd-Wife'. Young Kostantinos is the most common name for the hero of those songs which tell of a mother's ill-treatment of her daughter-in-law during her son's absence (44).

– 'The Dead Brother'. The hero is the youngest of (usually) nine brothers who, despite death, is impelled by the power of his mother's curse to bring back his sister who is married abroad. In

(44) Petropoulos, 1, pp. 127-8.

most versions he is called Kostantinos, occasionally Mikrokostantinos (young Kostantinos) [45].

– The names of other ballad heroes are often prefixed by the adjective '*mikro-*', and the theme of extreme youth as a handicap will be discussed below.

– 'The Haunted Well'. The youngest of a number of brothers is chosen by lot to descend into a well which turns out to be haunted. Here too the hero is often called Kostantinos or Mikrokostantinos and there is a striking verbal parallel between G and this modern folk song :

> ἔλαχε δὲ τὸν ὕστερον, τὸν μικρὸν Κωνσταντῖνον
> and the lot fell to the youngest, young Konstantinos ;
> καὶ ξέπεσεν ὁ λόττος στὸ μικρὸ Κωσταντῆ [46]
> and the lot fell to young Kostantis.

– 'Yannis and the *lamia*' etc. Some songs of this type begin by mentioning (usually five) brothers, of whom four have gone their several ways leaving the hero alone with only his mother to advise (or nag) him [47]. It is not made explicit that he is the youngest of the brothers, but traditional social practice suggests that he must be [48].

– A final instance of this theme in Greek tradition comes in the romance *Callimachus and Chrysorrhoe*, where the hero is the youngest of three brothers.

6. Prodigious growth of the hero

There are three main forms of the theme applied to the young Digenes Akrites which can be set alongside attributes of different heroes in the folk song tradition.

6a. *The hero's education.*

Digenes Akrites – G 1017-1028, E 645-663, Z 1334-1357. Digenes while very young is handed over to a tutor and in three

(45) *Ibid.*, pp. 69-71.
(46) G 102 ; Passow, *Popularia carmina*, p. 400.
(47) Petropoulos, I, pp. 80-1.
(48) Campbell, *Family, honour and patronage*, p. 176.

years masters the entire art of letters. This done, he applies himself to horsemanship and (Z) to wrestling and running. At the age of twelve he persuades his father to take him out hunting wild beasts.

Folk songs – 'Andronikos and the king's daughter'. The hero goes to school at six, learns to read at seven and to write and count at nine. By the age of twelve he has all his lessons off pat and at eighteen he takes his sword, mounts his horse and goes off to court to marry the king's daughter (49).

– 'Kostantas'/'Porfyris'. In other songs a hero called Porfyris, Kostantas or Kalomiris makes more rapid progress. No sooner is he born than he exhibits a monstrous appetite for food (50), from which he derives the strength, in one case, to wield a sword at the age of five, a javelin at six, and at eight fears no one in the world.

6b. *Hunting wild animals.*

Digenes Akrites – G 1053-1140, E 664-703, Z 1381-1475. Digenes excels himself on his first hunt, at the age of twelve. Particularly miraculous is the speed with which he runs to catch the fastest game, and the strength with which he kills bears and lions with his hands.

– G 2005-2029. In this version only, the account of Digenes' meeting with the Emperor includes a demonstration of these skills, in which the young man overtakes, seizes and dashes to the ground first a horse and then a lion.

Folk songs – 'Digenis on his deathbed'. In certain of these songs where the dying hero recounts his youthful exploits to his followers, these include the killing of "three hundred bears and sixty-two lions" (51).

– 'Death and the shepherd'. An unnamed young man ambushed by Death while out hunting is remarkable for his speed and agility, in contrast to his sombre opponent. We are told that "as he ran the young man would catch a hare, with a leap a mountain goat" (52).

(49) PETROPOULOS, I, pp. 34-5.
(50) *Ibid.*, pp 33-4 ; 45-6 ; 46-8.
(51) *Ibid*, pp. 23-4.
(52) *Ibid.*, pp. 27-8

6c. *The hero, single-handed, defeats a whole army.*

Digenes Akrites – G 1588-1597, E 954-960, Z 2031-2037. Digenes falls upon the army sent out by the General to pursue him and the bride he has abducted, and scatters it.

– G 2477-2489, E 1164-1173, Z 2918-2933. The armed bands of the *apelatai* Ioannakes, Philopappous and Kinnamos try to storm the oasis and abduct Digenes' bride. Digenes takes up his mace and shield and repulses them, killing all but the leaders.

– G 2942-2950, Z 3507-3532. The scenario is repeated as Digenes defeats a new army of *apelatai* reinforced by the amazon Maximou.

Folk songs – The theme is used in versions of almost any narrative which involves armed conflict. The Mikro Vlachopoulo, rescuing his bride-to-be from raiders who have abducted her,

> *Στὸ ἔμπα χίλιους ἔκοψε, στὸ ξέβα δυὸ χιλιάδες,*
> *καὶ εἰς τὸ ξαναγύρισμα δὲν ηὗρε τί νὰ κόψῃ* (53)
> As he went in he cut down a thousand, as he came out two thousand,
> and as he came back again he found nothing to cut down.

This relatively stereotyped expression is found in the song of Armouris recorded in manuscripts of the 15th century (the oldest complete Greek folk song) (54), and even finds its way into a late version of the song of Daskaloyannis, a historical epic composed by a professional 'singer of tales' at the end of the 18th century (55).

The hero's prodigious growth in modern Greek narrative songs is often linked to some form of handicap (56). Often, as in the examples we have considered, this is physical : he is abnormally young for the feats he undertakes and, naturally enough, of small stature. Often he will compensate for this by a phenomenal appetite – Brosfiris (Porfyris) in one song devours two oxen and eighteen ovens of bread

(53) *Ibid.*, p. 49.

(54) Reprinted, with emendations, in KALONAROS, II, pp. 213-7.

(55) Quoted in C. MANGO, 'Quelques remarques sur la chanson de Daskaloyannis', *Kritika Chronika*, 8 (1954), p. 51.

(56) I am indebted to Dr. M. HERZFELD for a stimulating correspondence on this subject. See his recent article, 'Social borderers', and my own more tentative remarks on the handicap of the hero Mikrokostantinos, *Folk poetry*, pp. 131-3.

when three days old, and can still ask for more [57]. Thus strengthened he takes up arms and confronts the world despite his youth. But the handicap may also be a social one : the hero is the son of a widow [58], of a nun [59] or of a Jewess [60]. Sometimes Digenes and the widow's son are the same person [61] ; in a few songs from Cyprus the double-birth implied by Digenis' name is itself a social handicap [62] ; elsewhere the physically small hero of miraculous strength and the widow's son may confront one another in the same song [63].

In the medieval *Digenes Akrites* this theme is not developed to the same extent as in the song tradition. Digenes' double birth, for example, is throughout the poem treated as a positive advantage, and there is no sign that he has to overcome any social handicap, except possibly in his meeting with the king. Nonetheless the attributes of the young Digenes as prodigious *in spite of* his age, as well as hints of them in his uncle Konstantinos, reveal the repeated presence of this theme in the poem.

But the theme of prodigious growth is not confined to *Digenes Akrites* and the modern songs, and is in fact a great deal older than either. It is unmistakably present in the 7th-century BC Homeric Hymn to Hermes, where the young god, "Born at dawn, played the lyre by midday and in the evening stole the oxen of far-shooting Apollo" [64]. In a later version of this story Hermes even eats some of the flesh of the stolen cattle [65], a development of the theme parallel to the monstrous appetite of the child-hero of the ballads.

(57) PETROPOULOS, I, pp. 44-5.

(58) *Ibid.*, pp. 49-50 ; 74-5.

(59) *Ibid.*, pp. 44-5.

(60) KALONAROS, II, pp. 217-9

(61) A. JEANNARAKI, *Ἄισματα κρητικὰ μετὰ διστίχων καὶ παροιμίων* (Leipzig, 1876), p. 276.

(62) PETROPOULOS, I, p. 10 . A SAKELLARIOS, *Τὰ Κυπριακά, Τόμ. Γ΄ - Ἡ ἐν Κύπρῳ γλῶσσα* (Athens, 1868), p. 12.

(63) PETROPOULOS, I, pp 45-6.

(64) *ἠῶος γεγονὼς μέσῳ ἤματι ἐγκιθάριζεν,*
ἑσπέριος βοῦς κλέψεν ἑκηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος
Hymn to Hermes, 17-18.

(65) APOLLODORUS, III, 10. 2.

Prodigious growth reappears in the Hellenistic *Life and deeds of Alexander the Great*, in which the physical appearance of the young hero is striking : he has a lion's mane, eyes of different colours, one black and one grey, teeth as sharp as a dragon's and the gait of a lion (66). Some of the sources for the Hellenistic romance were clearly popular and, whether or not the Alexander story has had a continuous *oral* tradition in Greek, we know that modern demotic versions of the story, made in the 16th and 17th centuries, enjoyed considerable popularity. Of these only the rhymed version of 1529 retains a hint of Alexander's strange appearance (67), but in one prose version the hero speaks intelligibly the moment after his birth (68) and in another he is set to study with his tutor Aristotle at the age of four, and shortly afterwards proves himself as the toughest fighter in his class (69).

Another instance of prodigious growth in a tradition whose influence in Greece must have come about initially through the written word, is in the story of Jesus who, at the significant age of twelve (when Digenes too had finished his book-learning) was discovered in disputation with the scribes at the Temple (70). Finally, that the theme of prodigious growth (whatever its ultimate derivation) has long been a shaping force of the popular imagination is suggested by the following shaggy-dog story recorded by a French traveller in the 17th century :

> L'an 1665, au mois d'Octobre, une femme Turque enfanta à la Citadelle *d'Athènes*, un épouvantable monstre qu'elle avoit conceu depuis neuf mois. Quand il vint au monde, il sauta aussitôt en terre et

(66) PSEUDO-KALLISTHENES, 13 – H. VAN THIEL, *Leben und Taten Alexanders von Makedonien – der griechische Alexanderroman nach der Handschrift L*, Texte zur Forschung, 13 (Darmstadt, 1974).

(67) D. HOLTON, *Διήγησις τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου – the rhymed version* (Salonica, 1974), ll. 235-8.

(68) K. MITSAKIS, *Der byzantinische Alexanderroman nach dem Codex Vindob. Theol. Gr. 244*, Miscellanea Byzantine Monacensia, 7 (Munich, 1967), pp. 26-7.

(69) A. PALLIS, *Ἡ φυλλάδα τοῦ Μεγαλέξαντρου* (Galaxias edns., Athens, 1961), pp. 57-8.

(70) On this aspect of the Gospel story see A. DUNDES, 'The hero-pattern in the life of Jesus', in *Essays in folkloristics*, Kirpa Dai Series in Folklore and Anthropology, 1 (Folklore Institute, New Delhi, 1978), pp. 223-270. Reprinted in DUNDES, *Interpreting Folklore* (Indiana, 1981).

> commença à marcher, à crier, et à narrater certains mots qui approchoient de l'abbayement d'un chien. Il avoit les oreilles de lievre et droites, son museau ressembloit à celuy d'un Lion, ses yeux étinceloient, deux grosses dents luy sortoient de la bouche, ses pieds paroissoient comme ceux d'un enfant, et ses mains étoient comme celles d'un grifon (71).

Conclusion

This discussion of themes reveals that the connections which exist between *Digenes* and modern Greek folk poetry are not restricted to a special category of the latter. The relationship is not therefore one between individual folk 'texts' and a medieval poem, but between specific themes which are now current throughout the tradition of Greek folk poetry, and certain episodes of the medieval narrative. Had these episodes been of only marginal importance in *Digenes*, it might have been possible to suggest that they merely reflect the influence of particular folk songs which the writer of the poem (or of a later version) wished to incorporate into his text. This could indeed be the explanation for the curious details in the episode of the daughter of Haplorrabdes, which seem out of place in their context in the poem, but reveal a natural cohesion in the folk songs. But even if the writer or redactor of the poem had been directly inspired by a folk song at this point, there are three quite different types of song in which the common elements occur, and we cannot tell to which type the song that influenced the poet belonged – if indeed it did not belong to yet another type of which there are no modern examples.

Each of the other themes I have discussed has an important and integral position in *Digenes*. The themes of the abduction, the seclusion of the girl, the mother's curse, the youngest brother, and the prodigious growth of the hero are not merely integral to the poem – there is every sign that its author took them for granted. The evident ease with which they are used several times, in the telling of different episodes, strongly suggests that they were known to the author of the poem, as they are to singers today, as *traditional*

(71) J. P. Babin, *Relation de l'état présent de la ville d'Athènes*, ed. Laborde (Paris, 1854), p 58. (First published Lyon, 1674).

themes. This need not mean that *Digenes* was the work of an oral-traditional poet such as Homer or the modern Yugoslav *guslari*, although that is a possibility to be considered. While traditional themes form an important part of *Digenes*, they do not account for the entire work. And in any case the last of them that I have examined, the prodigious growth of the hero, is a theme which also has a long *literary* tradition behind it.

The occurrence of certain themes of the modern tradition of Greek folk song in the medieval *Digenes Akrites* tells us merely that these components of songs sung today were also traditional in Byzantine times (and may of course be older still). It does not give us any grounds for believing that folk songs as such were a direct source for the poem, but only that the poet of *Digenes* knew some form of popular poetry or tales well enough to take certain themes for granted. This implies a poet working in or close to a given tradition, rather than a redactor or rhapsode 'stitching' together a series of ballads laid out before him on his desk or in his memory. For the same reason we cannot now assume that 'archetypes' or ancestors of any particular modern ballads were current at the time when *Digenes* was composed. To speak of 'akritic' songs is to create an arbitrary and misleading category of modern oral material. On the other hand the identification in *Digenes* and other Byzantine vernacular texts of further thematic components of the modern song tradition may be of value in building up a picture of the gradual development of oral poetry and popular taste in Greek.

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FLEMISH MERCENARIES IN BYZANTIUM THEIR LATER HISTORY IN AN OLD NORSE MIRACLE (*)

Anna Comnena tells us in the *Alexiad* that count Robert I of Flanders promised to send 500 cavalrymen to her father, the Greek emperor Alexius I Comnenus (1081-1118) (1), who was constantly harassed by Pecheneg and Turkish attacks. After Robert had returned home from his journey to Palestine and his visit to the Byzantine emperor (2), he sent these promised soldiers. Shortly after

(*) I am very grateful to Andrea van Arkel-De Leeuw van Weenen for her contribution to note 83 and her Additional Note at the end of this article ; to Dr. A. Quack (Amsterdam) who helped me with bibliographical references concerning runestones ; and to the University of Texas Press for letting me use material from the *Heimskringla* translation by L. M. Hollander.

(1) Anna COMNENA, *Alexiad*, VII, vii 4, VIII, iii 5, VIII, v 3 ; ed. B. LEIB, Paris, 1943, II, pp. 109-10, 135 s., 141 (English transl. E. R. A. Sewter, *The Alexiad of Anna Comnena*, Harmondsworth, 1969, p. 229, 232, 252). Cf. F. CHALANDON, *Essai sur le règne d'Alexis Ier Comnène*, Paris, 1900, p. 118 (Repr. New York, 1971) ; G. BUCKLER, *Anna Comnena*, Oxford, 1929, p. 15, 362, 423, 436, 449 (Repr. Oxford, 1968) ; L. BRÉHIER, *Vie et Mort de Byzance*, Paris, 1946 (1969), pp. 249-50.

(2) There is no proof that Robert I took service in Byzantium as stated by S RUNCIMAN, *A History of the Crusades*, Harmondsworth, 1971, I, p 104 : "Most eminent of these mercenaries had been Count Robert I of Flanders, who had fought for him [Alexius] in the year 1090", and p. 166 : "on his way back he [Robert I] had taken service for a while under the Emperor Alexius, with whom he remained in touch until his death in 1093" (see also note 11, below). If ever he had such plans, it should have been in his younger days, cf. C VERLINDEN, *Robert Ier le Frison, comte de Flandre*, Universiteit te Gent, Werken uitgegeven door de Faculteit der Wijsbegeerte en Letteren, 72e afl., Antwerp, 1935, pp. 15-8, and F.-L. GANSHOF, "Robert le Frison et Alexis Comnène", *Byzantion*, 31, 1961, pp. 64-5, who both refer to a passage in the *Annals* of Lambert of Hersfeld, ed. O. HOLDER-EGGER, *MGH Script. Rer. Germ.*, V, Hannover/Leipzig, 1894, p. 122 I do not see why Runciman speaks of contacts between the two sovereigns lasting until 1093, unless he presumes that the famous letter of Alexius to count Robert of Flanders belongs to this period.

their arrival in Constantinople, which took place around 1090, the Flemish mercenaries were sent to Asia Minor where the Turkish pirate Tzachas was attacking Byzantine territory. Although the newly arrived Western soldiers seem to have been engaged in various battles of which one was not very successful for the Byzantines, they survived as a regiment, which means that their losses cannot have been very heavy (3). From Nicomedia, at that time their garrison town as it seems, they were summoned back to the capital. This time they were to accompany the emperor on his expedition against the Pechenegs, heathen people living near the Danube border (4). On April 29th 1091, the well-known battle of Lebounion took place. The emperor succeeded in defeating, even annihilating, the Pechenegs. During the battle the Greeks were assisted by Cuman (Polovtsy) troops, another heathen people living in the Balkans, whose loyalty was variable (5).

Scholars have drawn attention to the great importance of the Flemish horsemen ; the Greek army probably lacked a good cavalry in those years (6). They concluded that the Western cavalrymen

(3) R. JANIN, "Les 'Francs' au service des Byzantins", *'Echos d'Orient*, 29, 1930, p. 69, concluded that Flemish troops were active in a battle near Chios in 1090 (Anna COMNENA, *Alexiad*, VII, viii 5 s. = LEIB, II, p. 113), where Celtic horsemen lost many horses. At Lebounion (1091) the Flemish are also called 'Celts' ; Alexius was presented with some extra 150 horses when the Flemish arrived in Constantinople. The total destruction of the Flemish as described in the *Olaf's Saga* (see below) cannot refer to events happening in 1090, since a Flemish unity was sent to Lebounion later on.

(4) Thus the newly arrived Flemings fought the two enemies Alexius mentions in his famous letter to the Count of Flanders, cf. the English translation by E. JORANSON, "The Problem of the Spurious Letter of Emperor Alexius to the Count of Flanders", *The American Historical Review*, 55, 1950, p. 813, 814, 815 ; see also note 8.

(5) *Alexiad*, VIII, iv 2 s. = LEIB, II, p. 136. For the Cumans see note 72.

(6) GANSHOF, *op. cit.*, (n. 2), p. 74, notes 2 and 3. One wonders whether the Byzantine cavalry of the 1080s was a very efficient force. In 1086 Tatikios, who had to repulse invading Pechenegs, could not pursuit the enemy due to a lack of horses and/or cavalry as it seems, *Alexiad*, VI, xiv 7 = LEIB, II, p. 85, and note, CHALANDON, *op. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 109-10. At the battle of Dristra, a year later, we only hear once about the cavalry, *Alexiad*, VII, iii 6 = Leib, II, p. 97, who did not perform any exploits, on the contrary the Greeks lost the battle. This may explain why Alexius asked for Flemish horsemen when he received count Robert of Flanders shortly afterwards, *Alexiad*, VII, vi 1 = LEIB, II, p. 105. See also note 7.

performed exploits and greatly contributed to the victory of the battle of Lebounion (7). Anna Comnena is the only source giving information on the arrival of the Flemings in Byzantium and their presence on the battlefield of Lebounion. After 1091 there is a complete silence on their further activities and adventures in the East, in both Greek and Flemish sources (8). We know nothing about an eventual return of these warriors to the Low Countries ; if they did return, only few came back as we will see (9).

(7) GANSHOF, *ibidem*, p. 73 : "La cavalerie flamande joue ici le rôle important d'unité d'élite, chargée de protéger un déplacement de l'empereur, commandant en chef, à travers une région dangereuse", and p. 74 : "Le rôle joué par les chevaliers de Robert le Frison fut, on l'a vu, de grande importance dans la défense de l'empire byzantin. D'ailleurs un groupement de cinq cents chevaliers, bien armés, bien montés, munis de casques, de brognes et de boucliers, était en un temps d'effectifs extrêmement modestes, un facteur de poids dans une guerre comme celle que menait Alexis Comnène" ; M. DE WAHA, "La Lettre d'Alexis I Comnène à Robert le Frison", *Byzantion*, 47, 1977, p. 115 : "... l'envoi de troupes d'élite qui jouèrent un rôle absolument capital dans les opérations contre les Petchénègues et les Turcs en 1090, et en particulier dans la bataille de Lebounion, le 29 avril 1091", and p. 120 : "Le rôle des chevaliers flamands dans les opérations militaires de 1091 fut considérable" ; M. M. KNAPPEN, "Robert II of Flanders in the First Crusade", in *The Crusades and other historical essays presented to D. C Munro*, ed. L. J. Paetow, New York, 1928, p. 83 : "Thus the pope's request would find a response in the natural desire of the count [Robert II] to emulate his father and in that of the younger warriors to surpass the exploits of their older brothers".

(8) The absence of these Flemish mercenaries in the letter of Alexius to Robert cannot be dealt with here extensively. If the letter, in the form we know nowadays, is a later forgery (cf. JORANSON, *op cit.* (n. 4), p. 811 s.), it may be due to the original letter which could have been written between the departure of the Flemish mercenaries and their arrival in Byzantium. With this hypothesis we support the theory of V. G. VASILIEVSKY, "Byzantium and the Pechenegs" (in Russian), *Journal of the Ministry of Public Instruction*, 164, St. Petersburg, 1872, pp. 325-8 (= *Trudy*, I, St. Petersburg, 1908, pp. 163-6 ; Repr. The Hague, 1968), and *Ibidem*, 207, 1880, pp. 223-61, cf. JORANSON, *ibidem*, p. 817, who states that the letter belongs to 1090/1. The silence in Flemish sources is remarkable if we consider that *e g.* the visit of king Sigurd to Constantinople is reported in the *Chronicle* of St. Bavo, cf. *Collection de Chroniques belges inédites*, ed. J.-J. DE SMET, I, Brussels, 1837, p. 573.

(9) KNAPPEN, *op cit.* (n. 7), p. 87, even came to the conclusion that "after the crusaders passed Nicomedia the Flemish veterans of 1090 would no longer be familiar with the territory, and this may account for Robert's lack of initiative in the future. He must have had experienced friends to aid him in his solitary march across Macedonia", without corroborating this statement however

Robert II of Flanders, son of Robert I the Frisan and Gertrud, former countess of Holland, was one of the leaders of the First Crusade. He visited Constantinople in April-May 1097 when he took the oath to the emperor Alexius. By the end of 1099, or beginning of 1100, Robert II was again in the Greek capital, now on his way back home (10). He and his companions were asked by Alexius to enter his service. Robert declined the invitation and returned to Flanders with gifts from the emperor (11). Orderic Vitalis, our informant on the request made by the Byzantine emperor, does not mention any contacts of the Flemings with their former compatriots (12), nor the presence of Flemish soldiers in the Greek capital. This could mean that by 1100 the Flemish were no longer a distinguishable group in the Greek capital. The same applies to the Paraphrase of the *Gesta Francorum Iherusalem Peregrinantium* of Fulcher of Chartres by Bartolf of Nangis, where we find an enumeration of all those who 'conveniunt' (= live ?) (13) in Constantinople at the beginning of the twelfth century. The Paraphrase was written before 1109 (14). Two groups of Westerners who served in the Byzantine army are mentioned, the English and the Danes, of which the last name probably refers to Scandinavians in general :

> *In ea* [Constantinople] *Graeci, Bulgari, Alani, Comani, Pigmatici, Italici, Venetici, Romani, Daci, Angli, Malfetani, Turci etiam et*

(10) Fulcher of Chartres, *Gesta Francorum Iherusalem Peregrinantium*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer, Heidelberg, 1913, I, ix 2, p. 178 and I, xxxii 1, p. 320 (Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem 1095-1127*, transl. F. R. Ryan, Knoxville, 1969, p. 79 and 128) ; *Historia Peregrinorum, Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Occidentaux* [RHC Occ.], III, Paris, 1866, p. 179 ; Gilbert of Nogent, *Historia quae dicitur Gesta Dei per Francos, RHC Occ.*, IV, Paris, 1879, p. 155 ; Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Jerusalem, RHC Occ.*, III, pp. 237-8 ; William of Tyre, *Historia Rerum in Partibus Transmarinis Gestarum*, IX, 13, *RHC Occ.*, I, Paris, 1844, p. 383.

(11) Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, Book X, 12, ed. M. Chibnall, Oxford, 1975, V, pp. 276-7. It is not clear why Robert turned down the invitation, may be he did not want to share the bad luck of his former compatriots.

(12) Saxo Grammaticus speaks of the contacts king Erik of Denmark had with the Danes in the Varangian guard, cf. note 80.

(13) Cf. Hagenmeyer, *op. cit.* (n. 10), p. 176, n. 1.

(14) U. Chevalier, *Répertoire des sources historiques du moyen âge*, I, *Bio-Bibliographie*, I-II (2nd. ed., Paris, 1905-7) : *Repertorium fontium medii aevi*,

gentiles multi, Judaei quoque et Proselyti, Cretes et Arabes, omniumque nationum convenium (15).

The Flemish do not seem to have survived in large enough numbers to find a place in the list. Of course this is an argument *e silentio*, but even then it should not be neglected altogether.

F.-L. Ganshof concluded from the silence in later sources that the history of the Flemish soldiers seems to stop after the battle of Lebounion : "Après la bataille du Lebounion, nous n'apprenons plus rien au sujet des chevaliers flamands au service de Byzance ; nous ignorons même combien de temps ils restèrent en Orient" (16).

In this article I will attempt to prolong their history in the Byzantine empire by discussing an almost neglected reference to the presence of Flemish soldiers in the Greek army. Therefore we have to turn to the Saga literature of the North, to a *Miracle* in the *Saga of St. Olaf* (17). Of this *Miracle* I will try to give a new interpretation.

St. Olaf, king of Norway (1015-1030), died on the battle-field of Stiklastad. After his death he worked many miracles, even in far-away Byzantium where Scandinavians went to serve as mercenaries, the so-called Varangians. According to the *Saga* the national hero-saint of Norway helped his compatriots to win victories on various occasions. The *Miracle* I discuss in this article relates the rescue by St. Olaf of Norse Varangians who, in the Greek army, fought against heathen invaders (18) ; with them were Frankish and Flemish soldiers (19).

Rome 1967) ; cf. FULCHER OF CHARTRES, *op. cit.* (n. 10), p. 20 and p. 176, n. 1.

(15) *RHC Occ.*, III, p. 494.

(16) GANSHOF, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 74.

(17) The *Miracle* occurs in the following editions of *St. Olaf's Saga : Fornmanna Sögur*, V, Copenhagen, 1830, p. 136 s. = *Scripta Historica Islandorum*, V, Copenhagen, 1833, pp. 147-9 (Latin transl.) ; *Saga Olafs Konings ens Helga*, ed P. A. MUNCH and C. R. UNGER, Christiania, 1853, pp. 242-3 ; *Olafs Saga hins Helga*, ed. C R. UNGER, in *Heilagra Manna Sögur*, II, Christiania, 1877, pp. 175-6 ; O. A. JOHNSEN and J. HELGASON, *Den store Saga om Olav den hellige*, Oslo, 1941, pp. 633-4 ; *Flateyjarbok*, ed. C. R UNGER and G VIGFÚSSON, II, Christiania, 1862, pp. 380-1, cf. O. WIDDING, H. BEKKER-NIELSEN, L. K. SHOOK, "The Lives of the Saints in Old Norse Prose, a Handlist", *Mediaeval Studies*, 25, 1963, pp. 327-8

(18) In Old Norse the term 'Varangians' applies to Northmen, cf. S. BLÖNDAL and B. S. BENEDIKZ, *The Varangians of Byzantium*, Cambridge, 1978 (transl. and revision of S. BLÖNDAL, *Vaeringjasaga*, Reykjavik, 1954).

(19) For the Western element in the army cf. G. SCHLUMBERGER, "Deux chefs

It is difficult to say when and where *St. Olaf's Saga* was written or, as one should rather say, compiled. Shortly after the king's death in 1030, miracles began to take place through the intercession of the saint. These miracles were to form the nucleus of the later *Saga*. It is not easy to appreciate and to determine the historical setting of the various miracles. The *Miracle* I deal with in this article belongs to the so-called '*Legendary Saga*', a later version of the Saga, and preserved in a manuscript of the middle of the thirteenth century. An earlier version, the so-called *First Saga of St. Olaf* (20) was written before 1180 and contains a miracle similar to ours which does not mention, however, the Flemish (21). It is clear why we will follow the more detailed version of the '*Legendary Saga*' (22).

The definite form of our *Miracle* may have existed before it was actually written down around 1250 ; this becomes obvious from the *Heimskringla*, the *History of the Kings of Norway*, written by the Icelander Snorri Sturluson between 1220 and 1230 (23) (at least in the version of the *Heimskringla* we know nowadays), containing the same *Miracle*.

normands des armées byzantines au XIe siècle", *Revue historique*, 6, 1881, pp. 289-303 ; L. BRÉHIER, "Les aventures d'un chef normand en Orient au XIe siècle, Roussel de Bailleul", *Revue des Cours et Conférences*, Paris, 1912, pp 172-88 (cf. R. GUILLAND, *Recherches sur les Institutions byzantines*, Amsterdam/Berlin, 1967, I, p. 187, 221 s., 384, 392 s., 454 ; JANIN, *op. cit* (n. 3), pp. 61-72 ; Marquis DE LA FORCE, "Les conseillers latins du basileus Alexis Comnène", *Byzantion*, 11, 1936, pp. 153-65 ; for the Varangians, cf. BLONDAL, *ibidem*.

(20) J. DE VRIES, *Altnordische Literaturgeschichte*, 2nd ed., Berlin, 1967, II, p. 239 s. ; G. TURVILLE-PETRE, *Origins of Icelandic Literature*, Oxford, 1953, p. 175.

(21) Both names Kirjalax and Blokumannaland are absent from the 'sober' version of the *Miracle*, where the enemy is said to have been Bulgars ; TURVILLE-PETRE, *ibidem*, pp. 177-8, gives a translation of this *Miracle* (cf. G. STORM, *Otte Brudstykker af den Aeldste Saga om Olav den hellige*, Christiania, 1893, p. 12).

(22) The two tales seem to follow a traditional pattern : a miracle is followed by the building of a sanctuary, cf K. N. CIGGAAR, "Harald Hardrada : his expedition against the Pechenegs", *Balkan Studies*, forthcoming, where I discuss the presence of St. Olaf's church in Constantinople, cf. note 42.

(23) The *Miracle* stands at the end of the *Life of Hákon the Broadshouldered* (1157-1162). The reason for this strange setting could be that Eindredi (who had brought the tale to Norway) was a supporter of king Hakon, cf. *Orkneyinga Saga*, cf. 89, ed. S. NORDAL, Copenhagen, 1915, p. 260 – transl. A. B. Taylor, Edinburgh, 1938, p. 303

The date *post quem* of events told in the *Miracle* should be the year 1090 when the Flemish mercenaries arrived in the Byzantine capital (24). The date *ante quem* could well be the year 1148. In this year Eindredi the Young, a Norwegian who had served many years in Byzantium, returned to his homeland. In these years the cult of St. Olaf was being renewed. Some time after Eindredi's return to Norway, in 1153, Trondheim became an archbishopric. For this occasion the poet Einar Skulason composed a poem called *Geisli* in honour of St. Olaf (25). On St. Olaf's day, 29 July 1153, the poem was declaimed over the saint's shrine in the cathedral of Trondheim. The audience was reminded of the glorious deeds and miracles worked by the saint, nearby and far-off. Two of these miracles relate the presence of Varangians in the remote Byzantine empire, one of which bears strong resemblances to the *Miracle* in *St. Olaf's Saga* I deal with in this article. The *Geisli* poem names Eindredi the Young as the informant on the Varangian adventures. Thus we can be sure that Eindredi conveyed the story to Scandinavia. I will give here a translation of both miracles as they occur in the *Geisli* :

> Eindrid the Young has now forwarded my poem [Eindrid told me this]. It is hard for me to work out my poem on the king, for his miracles pass from one place to another.

(24) I do not think that the *Miracle* speaks of Flemings who may have stayed in Constantinople after the First Crusade ; if any of them did, they were few, cf. ORDERIC VITALIS, *op cit.* (n. 11), *ibidem*, where Western knights, on their way home, were engaged by Alexius. Nor does it seem to me that by Flemish are meant the irregular troops called 'Brabançons' whose presence is signalled in the Greek empire, cf. A. MARICQ, "Un 'comte de Brabant' et des 'Brabançons' dans deux textes byzantins : Anne Comnène, Eustathe de Thessalonique", *Académie Royale de Belgique, Classe des Lettres et des Sciences Morales et Politiques*, 5e série, 34, Brussels, 1948, pp. 463-80.

(25) It has been suggested that Einar Skulason accompanied king Sigurd to Jerusalem and Constantinople (1107-1111), cf. B. E. GEISINGER, "The Mediterranean Voyage of a Twelfth Century Icelander", *The Mariner's Review*, 58, 1972, p. 164, n. 40 ; see also TURVILLE-PETRE, *op. cit.* (n. 20), p. 155. It is true that Einar was the author of some Scaldic poems on this journey, cf. SNORRI STURLUSON, *Heimskringla, Saga of the Sons of Magnus*, ch. 3 s , ed. F. JONSSON, Copenhagen, III, 1900-1, p. 278 s. = transl. L. M. HOLLANDER, *Heimskringla, History of the Kings of Norway*, Austin, Texas, 1964, p. 689 s.

> One evening the man girt on the sword and fell asleep on the field beneath the open sky. When he awoke he missed the weapon and saw it lying some way from him on the ground. Three nights running Harold's brother wrought this marvel, before the men told the emperor of the miracle. The emperor bought the sword of Olaf for gold, and had it laid ever afterwards upon the high altar in Garth [Constantinople]. Harold's glorious heir showed forth tokens in the battle in Greece. I set forth his praise.
>
> A battle was fought on the broad Petzina-plain [Wallachia] ; the people fell in thousands by the sword ; the Greeks were fleeing. The realm of the king of Micklegarth [Byzantium] must have yielded to the enemy, had not the few shield-bearing Warangians attacked them in the fight. They called loudly upon the good king Olaf. There were sixty heathens to one of them in the fray. They went through the heathen host as through smoke. The four hundred and fifty Northmen won fame in that place. They destroyed the heathens' waggon-fort. No one can count the wonders the king wrought ; they are famed all over the world (26).

It has become clear that information on both events reached Norway through Eindredi the Young.

The *Heimskringla*, where the two miracles are mentioned together again, is less clear in this respect. Eindredi is said to have been in Miklagarth (the regular name in Old Norse for the Byzantine capital) when the miracle of the sword took place, *i.e.* during the reign of Kirjalax. The miracle of the heathen's defeat, although taking place during Alexius' reign as well, apparently was not witnessed by Eindredi ; it does not seem to have taken place during his service in the Byzantine empire (27). At the end of the miracle of the sword in the *Heimskringla* we read : "Eindrithi the Young was in Miklagarth at the time these events came to pass. He related them in Norway, according to the testimony of Einar Skúlason in the drápa which he composed about Holy King Óláf, where this

(26) G. VIGFÚSSON and F. Y. POWELL, *Corpus poeticum boreale*, II, Oxford, 1883, pp. 290-2. In contrast to the *Heimskringla*, *Geisli* introduces here the army of Harold who had served in Byzantium in the first half of the eleventh century.

(27) I do not see how H. R. ELLIS DAVIDSON, *The Viking Road to Byzantium*, London, 1976, p. 205, came to the conclusion that "He [Eindredi] declared that he had talked with Varangians who had been in the famous battle against the Pechenegs, and who still spoke the Norse tongue".

occurrence is mentioned" (28). Then follows the *Miracle* I discuss here.

The date *post quem* of the *Heimskringla* version of the *Miracle* should then be 1153, date of composition of the *Geisli* poem to which it refers. This version of the *Miracle*, however, cannot go back to *Geisli* since many of its details are unknown of in Einar Skulason's poem (29). Both seem to go back to a common *Vorlage*, in all probability the oral report given by Eindredi himself. Information on Eindredi's activities in the East is given by the *Heimskringla* and the *Orkneyinga Saga*. The latter says : "[d.d. 1148] During that summer Eindredi the Younger returned from Istanbul. He had been in service there for a long time. He had much news to tell of that [city], and men thought it good entertainment to ask him questions about foreign parts" (30) ; it has been suggested that Eindredi came to Norway on a recruiting mission (31). Did he try to lure his compatriots by enhancing stories about supernatural help even in far-away Byzantium ? We will never know. We know that Eindredi left Norway again in the early 1150s for a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, accompanying Earl Rognvald of Orkney. En route to the Holy Land Eindredi, with some friends, left the main party and went to Constantinople instead, where he enjoyed the favour of the emperor Manuel (32). We are not told whether Eindredi planned this 'escape' from the very start of the expedition, but one may guess this was his

(28) SNORRI STURLUSON, *Heimskringla, Saga of Hákon the Broadshouldered*, ch. 20, ed. JONSSON, III, p. 429 = HOLLANDER, *op. cit.* (n. 25), p. 787.

(29) Cf. BLONDAL-BENEDIKZ, *op. cit.* (n 18), p. 150, who considers *Geisli* as the source of the narrative in the *Heimskringla*, see also note 26.

(30) *Orkneyinga Saga*, *op. cit.* (n. 23), ch. 85, p. 215 = TAYLOR, p. 276.

(31) *Ibidem*, ch. 89, pp 258-60 = TAYLOR, p. 302 ; cf. BLONDAL-BENEDIKZ, *op cit* (n. 18), p. 155.

(32) Cf. note 30. See also *Heimskringla, Saga of the Sons of Harald*, ch. 17, JONSSON, III, p. 371 = HOLLANDER, pp. 751-2. He returned to Norway in the late fifties and was killed in 1162. *Orkneyinga Saga*, ch. 89, pp. 258-60 = TAYLOR, p. 303 ; cf. *Heimskringla, Saga of Magnus Erlingsson*, ch. 14, JONSSON, III, p. 454 = HOLLANDER, p. 801 ; for Eindredi see also P. E. RIANT, *Expéditions et pèlerinages des Scandinaves en Terre Sainte*, Paris, 1865, p. 245 s., BLÓNDAL-BENEDIKZ, *op. cit.* (n. 18), p. 150, 152-3, 155-7, 161, and ELLIS DAVIDSON, *op. cit.* (n. 27), p. 205, 235, 263 s. The name Kirjalax therefore cannot refer to the emperors Alexius II (1180-83) or Alexius III (1195-1203). See also note 34.

purpose right from the beginning. The *Orkneyinga Saga* makes it clear that Eindredi served more than one emperor, at least John II Comnenus (1118-1143) and Manuel Comnenus (1143-1180), and may be Alexius Comnenus (1081-1118) as well. It was not exceptional for Varangians to arrive in Byzantium at a very early age and stay for many years (33). We should not treat lightly the piece of evidence given by Eindredi that, according to the *Miracle* in the *Heimskringla*, Kirjalax was emperor when the miracle took place. The name Kirjalax stands here for Alexius I Comnenus (1081-1118) (34) ; Eindredi must have known the Comnenian dynasty well and would not have used these names in a careless way.

The *Heimskringla* of Snorri Sturluson has become best known to those not familiar with Old Norse through the many translations that were made of it into English. For this reason I will give here, in translation, the *Heimskringla* version of the *Miracle*, which is almost identical with the *Miracle* in *St. Olaf's Saga* :

> *Saint Óláf gives victory to the Varangians.*
>
> The following happened in Greece, the time king Kirjalax ruled there and was on an expedition against Blokumannaland [Walachia]. When he arrived at the Pézina Plains, a heathen king advanced against him with an irresistible host. They had with them a company of horsemen, and huge wagons with embrasures on top. And when they prepared their night quarters, they drew up their wagons, one beside the other, around their tents, and dug a large moat outside of that, so that altogether it made a strong fortification like a stronghold. The heathen king was blind. And when the Greek king arrived the heathens drew up their battle array on the plain outside the rampart

(33) Harald Hardrada, who was hardly eighteen when he arrived in Byzantium, left the Greek empire some ten years later to claim his heritage in Norway.

(34) The name Kirjalax was used for : 1 Alexius I Comnenus (*e.g. Heimskringla, The Saga of the Sons of Magnus*, ch 12, 13, JONSSON, III, p. 282, 283 = HOLLANDER, p. 697, 698 . arrival of King Sigurd in Constantinople in 1111) ; 2 Alexius II Comnenus (1180-1183), *Heimskringla, The Saga of the Sons of Magnus*, ch. 9, JONSSON, III, p. 278 = HOLLANDER, p. 694 ; 3. Alexius III Angelus (1195-1203), *Saga of King Sverri of Norway*, ed. G INDREBØ, Christiania, 1920, ch. 127, p. 133 = transl J. SEPHTON, London, 1899, p. 157, who sent ambassadors to recruit soldiers in the North ; 4. to indicate *the* emperor of Byzantium, *e.g. Kirjalax Saga*, ed K. KÅLUND, Copenhagen, 1917.

of chariots, and the Greeks drew up theirs confronting them. They rode one against the other and fought, and the outcome was unfortunate for the Greeks. They fled, after losing many men, and the heathens won the victory.

Then the king drew up an array of Franks and Flemings, and they rode against the heathens and fought them, and they fared like the former, they lost many killed, and all fled who escaped from the battle Then the king of the Greeks grew wroth with his warriors, but they answered him, asking him to use the Varangians, his wine bibbers. The king replied that he did not want to ruin his most precious troops by pitting a few men, though brave, against such a large army.

Then Thórir Helsing (35), who at that time commanded the Varangians, made this answer to the king : "Even though there were burning fire before us, yet I and my troops would leap into it if I were sure that it would procure peace for you, sir king".

The king replied, "Pray then to Saint Óláf, your king, to aid you and give you victory".

The Varangians numbered four hundred and fifty [540] (36) men. They made a solemn vow, promising to erect a church in Miklagarth, at their own expense and with the support of good men, and have that church dedicated to the honor and glory of Holy King Óláf.

Thereupon the Varangians ran forward on the plain, and when the heathens saw that, they told their king that still another force of

(35) We know of two Norwegians with this name of whom the first was a grandson of Ketil Jamti and thus a contemporary of Harald Hardrada (1015-1066), cf. *Heimskringla, Saga of Hákon the Good*, ch. 21, JONSSON, I, p. 184 = HOLLANDER, p. 105, and *ibidem, Saint Olaf's Saga*, ch. 137, JONSSON, II, p. 309 = HOLLANDER, p. 413 ; cf. JOHNSEN and HELGASON, *op. cit.* (n. 17), p. 371, and R. M. DAWKINS, "An Echo in the Norse Sagas of the Patzinak War of John II Komninos", *Mélanges E. Boisacq*, Brussels, 1937 = *Annuaire de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales*, 5, 1937, pp. 246-7. The Thorir Helsing in our *Miracle* is one of the few Varangian leaders whose name has come down to us ; the identification of the various miracles of St. Olaf by Dawkins, *ibidem*, is the more illogical because one can hardly expect that there were two Varangian leaders in the same battle. Harald Hardrada and Thorir Helsing, cf. CIGGAAR, *op. cit.* (n. 22).

(36) In Old Norse 'hundrath' was used as a duodecimal hundred (= 120) and a decimal hundred (= 100), cf. R. CLEASBY-G. VIGFÚSSON, *Icelandic-English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1957 [s.v. hundrath] ; 450 therefore alternates with 540 (cf. *Geisli*).

the Greek king was advancing – "and", they said, "this is but a handful of men".

Then their king said, "Who is that princely man riding on a white horse in front of their band ?".

"We do not see him", they said.

There was such a great difference in the numbers between the two hosts that sixty heathens fought against one Christian, but none the less the Varangians most gallantly advanced to do battle. But as soon as they met, a fear and terror descended upon the heathen host so that they took to flight immediately, and the Varangians pursued them, quickly slaying a great multitude. But when the Greeks and Franks, who before had fled from the heathens, saw that, they joined in the pursuit with them. By that time the Varangians had gotten into the fortification made by the wagons, and then there ensued a great carnage. And during the flight of the heathens, the heathen king was captured and brought along by the Varangians. Then the Christians captured the tents of the heathens and the rampart of wagons (37).

We can now narrow down considerably the date *ante quem* : the year 1118 when Alexius Comnenus, under whose reign the miracle happened, died.

With the exception of V. G. Vasilievsky and more recently R. M. Dawkins, S. Blöndal, M. Gyoni and incidentally E. Lozovan, little attention has been paid to this *Miracle*. In particular the mention of the Flemish soldiers in the Greek army did not interest scholars. I will resume in a few words what was said with regard to them by Vasilievsky and Dawkins (38).

Vasilievsky is the only commentator who used their presence in the Old Norse text for the dating and identification of the battle described. Without going into any detail he concluded that the battle described in the *Miracle* is the battle of Lebounion (1091) which, as he added, 'did not take place in the land of the Cumans' (39). He was

(37) HOLLANDER, pp. 787-8.

(38) N. IORGA, *Histoire des Roumains*, III, Bucarest, 1937, p. 37, merely says that during a battle with Pechenegs "la situation n'est pas sauvée par les Francs et les Flamingi (les Flamands), mais par les Varègues ...", and that the heathen invaders had to confront the 'cavalerie impériale' ; but this cavalry is not spoken of explicitly in the *Miracle*.

(39) V. G. VASILIEVSKY, "The Varangian-Russian and Varangian-English Guard (druzhina) in Constantinople in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries",

led to this conclusion by Anna Comnena's statement about the Flemish presence on the battle-field of Lebounion ; but such a statement cannot limit Flemish participation to that specific battle. Flemish soldiers may have been active on other occasions as well. When Anna, a few pages earlier, speaks of the arrival of the Flemish soldiers in Byzantium, she highly praises them as being excellent warriors. And although she does not continue this laudatory tone when she comes to speak of Lebounion, she does not hint at their eventual defeat either. We may conclude that Anna, who was writing her memories in her old age, was focusing on what had been achieved by the cavalrymen from the Low Countries in their early days in the Greek empire when they relieved Alexius in a most critical period (40). She must have known the good reputation these troops enjoyed after their successful campaigns in Asia Minor and the Balkans. The interval of one year seems too short to account for the inferior role, the failure even, of the Flemish regiment as told in the Icelandic Saga. Vasilievsky did not take into account the great impact these Western mounted soldiers had on the Greek army. He was also wrong when, indirectly, he located the church of St. Olaf in the land of the enemy in terra Blacumannorum (41) ; it seems more logical to conclude that the victorious Varangians would build a church in the Byzantine capital, where many of them had their residence (especially those who served in the body-guard of the emperor). Why build a church or chapel in heathen territory where one is not to stay for a long time ? I have some doubts as far as the sanctuary is concerned ; this element in the *Miracle* may have its own history (42). One may also have reservations about the presence

Journal of the Ministry of Public Instruction, 178, St. Petersburg, 1875, p. 143 (in Russian) (= *Trudy*, I, St. Petersburg, 1908, p 366 ; Repr. The Hague, 1968).

(40) See *e g.* P. GAUTIER, "Diatribes de Jean l'Oxite contre Alexis Ier Comnène", *Revue des Études Byzantines*, 28, 1970, pp. 5-55.

(41) VASILIEVSKY, *op. cit.* (n. 39), *ibidem*, speaks of 250 Varangians, an erroneous number, cf. the Latin translation he used (*Scripta Historica Islandorum*, *op. cit.* (n. 17), pp. 147-9. IORGA, *op. cit.* (n. 38), *ibidem*, speaks of 400.

(42) In a previous article, *op cit.* (n. 22), note 47, I have discussed the existence, in the Greek capital, of more than one church dedicated to St. Olaf, and I have suggested that Harald Hardrada is the most likely person to have built such a church. Eindredi the Young and Einar Skulason have realized that there was no need to build another church. E. LOZOVAN, "Les Vikings sur le Danube",

of a strong Norse contingent during the battle of Lebounion, as told by the Norse Text (43). It appears that at the beginning of Alexius' reign the Anglo-Saxons formed the main element in the Varangian guard ; they had left their homeland in the period after William the Conqueror had come to England in 1066 (44). The Anglo-Saxons arrived in Byzantium in fairly large numbers, whereas other foreigners, especially Scandinavians, may have been fewer in numbers to come, due not only to the bad situation in Palestine in the late 1080s and the early 1090s (the Northmen often combined a trip to the Holy Land with a period of service in the Greek empire), but also to Alexius' policy to prefer Anglo-Saxons temporarily (45). Although one cannot entirely deny the presence of Norse Varangians during the early reign of Alexius, their number may have increased after Alexius launched desperate appeals for help in the early 1090s (46) ; but they may not have come in time to be of any help against the Pechenegs in 1091. We know that at the beginning of the twelfth century, when both king Erik of Denmark and the Norwegian king Sigurd visited Constantinople, large

Bollettino del Atlante Linguistico mediterraneo, 10-12, 1968-70, p. 252, simply concluded that Alexius Comnenus founded the church of St. Mary Varangiotissa. The two miracles, the *Heimskringla* version and the 'sober' version, may have lived an independent life and incorporated elements such as the foundation of a church, thus explaining *e.g.* the different enemies involved, cf. note 21.

(43) Anna Comnena does not mention their presence, cf Bl.ÖNDAL-BENEDIKZ, *op. cit.* (n. 18), p. 127 s. (the author makes a mistake when he says that "He [Alexius] had now to turn his attention to threats from Pechenegs in Asia Minor [sic !]". The Varangian leader Nabites (probably a Scandinavian) was active at Dristra, august 1087, where the emperor was defeated by the Pechenegs ; Nabites then vanishes from history, *Alexiad*, VII, iii 6 s. = LEIB, II, p. 97 s., cf. BL.ÓNDAL-BENEDIKZ, *ibidem*, pp. 123-7, 184-5, 216, and BL.ÓNDAL, "Nabites the Varangian", *Classica et Mediaevalia*, 2, 1939, p. 145 s. In the battle of Dristra remnants of the Norse regiment and its leader Nabites may have perished, thus urging Alexius to recruit mercenaries from elsewhere, *e.g.* from Flanders. Scandinavians were probably few to come in these years and Alexius was lucky enough to have the visit of Robert I of Flanders.

(44) K. N. CIGGAAR, "L'émigration anglaise à Byzance après 1066 Un nouveau texte en latin sur les Varangues à Constantinople", *Revue des Études Byzantines*, 32, 1974, p. 301 s.

(45) CIGGAAR, *ibidem*, p. 338 ; cf. BL.ONDAL-BENEDIKZ, *op. cit.* (n. 18), p. 146

(46) Cf. note 96.

numbers of Norsemen joined the Varangian forces (47) (cf. below p. 66). By then Alexius seems to have changed his policy, although he still shows signs of his old suspicions.

R. M. Dawkins hinted at the presence of Flemish soldiers in the *Miracle* of St. Olaf without making much use of it to identify or to date the battle in which they were involved. In his article *Greeks and Northmen*, published in 1936, Dawkins says that "In a fight against the Patzinaks the Frankish and Fleming mercenaries took to flight, as the Greek army had already done. Alexios Komnenos reproached them". He concluded that the battle took place during the reign of Alexius I Comnenus (48). Dawkins did not attempt to identify the battle ; he simply concluded that the enemy were Pechenegs and that Kirjalax was the emperor in office.

Shortly afterwards, in 1937, Dawkins published another article, entitled *An Echo in the Norse Sagas of the Patzinak War of John II Komninos*, where he speaks of the same *Miracle* (49). It is obvious from the title of this second article that Dawkins gives a different interpretation this time. Alexius is no longer the emperor under whose reign the battle took place. The author does not explain exactly what made him change his mind, meanwhile leaving enough ambiguity when he introduces Alexius Comnenus in the following words : "The event happened, we are told, in the land of the Greeks in the time of Kirjalax. – This Kirjalax stands for *Κύρ(ιος) Ἀλέξιος*, and though the chronology is of course all wrong, it is probably Alexios Komninos who is intended –" (50). The main

(47) *Heimskringla, Saga of Hákon the Broadshouldered*, ch. 20, JONSSON, III, p. 427 = HOLLANDER, p. 786, says at the beginning of the *Miracle* of St. Olaf's sword : "... Now long afterwards, in the days of Kirjalax, the Emperor of Miklagarth, there were numerous troops of Varangians in that city" ; it is not clear to which period of Alexius' reign this passage refers.

(48) R. M. DAWKINS, "Greeks and Northmen," in : *Custom is King, essays presented to R. R. Marett*, London, 1936, pp. 43-4 ; cf. S. LAIGN, *Snorri Sturluson, Heimskringla*, London, 1930, p. 390, n. 1 : "This miracle is misplaced. It belongs to the reign of Alexios I Comnenus, 1081-1118". They were not familiar with I. GHERGHEI., *Zur Geschichte Siebenbürgens*, Vienna, 1892, p. 17, n. 5 and p. 28, who had come to the same conclusion. See also E. LOZOVAN, "De la Mer Baltique à la Mer Noire", in : F. ALTHEIM-R. STIEHL, *Die Araber in der alten Welt*, Berlin, 1965, p. 530, and *Idem*, *op. cit.* (n. 42), p. 252.

(49) DAWKINS, *op. cit.* (n. 35), pp. 243-9.

(50) *Ibidem*, p. 246.

argument of Dawkins' new interpretation seems to be the description of the battle in the *Miracle* which offers certain similarities with the battle of Eski Zagra (1121). The battle of 1121 brings us into the reign of Alexius' son, the above mentioned John II Comnenus, who succeeded his father in 1118. The twelfth century Greek historians John Cinnamos and Nicetas Choniates, who describe the battle of Eski Zagra (ancient Beroia in the Balkans) inform us that Varangian forces contributed to the final victory of the battle by attacking the waggon-fortification of the Pechenegs (51) ; the nationality of the Varangians is given as 'Bretannikoi' by John Cinnamos, but Dawkins may be right in assuming that this name could refer to Norse Varangians as well. The Byzantines often used the same name to designate various peoples or gave different names to one and the same people (52). He also may be right in drawing the attention to the military tactics used by the enemy, *i.e.* to withdraw behind a chariot-fortification. But I think that he should not base his theory on the sole argument that Varangians made a breach into the enemy-fortification and that in consequence he should not connect the *Miracle* automatically with the reign of John II Comnenus.

Recently I have discussed already some aspects of Dawkins' theory, in particular his identification of several miracles in which St. Olaf comes to the rescue of Varangians in Byzantium (53). In the present article I will discuss his final conclusion, *i.e.* that our *Miracle* gives an account of the battle of Eski Zagra.

I have argued already that the military tactics applied by the heathen enemy, interpreted by Dawkins as having been Pechenegs, do not necessarily have to lead to the year 1121. Indeed the Pechenegs used to withdraw themselves and their families behind a

(51) John CINNAMOS, *Chronicle*, ed. A. MEINEKE, Bonn, 1836, p. 8 (French transl. J. ROSENBLUM, Nice, 1972, pp. 19-20 ; English transl. Ch. M. BRAND, *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*, New York, 1976, p. 16) ; NICETAS CHONIATES, *History*, ed. J.-L. VAN DIETEN, Berlin, 1975, pp. 15-6 (= ed. I. BEKKER, Bonn, 1835, pp. 20-3 ; German transl. F. GRABLER, Graz, 1958, pp. 46-9, *Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber*, VII).

(52) JANIN, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 61 s. ; Anna COMNENA, *Alexiad*, VIII, iii 5 = LEIB, II, p. 135, speaks of the Flemish troops as Celts ; for Byzantine writers it was difficult to distinguish between the various Western people.

(53) CIGGAAR, *op. cit.* (n. 22).

fortification of war-waggons when they were in danger ; such was doubtless also the behaviour of the other nomadic tribes in the Balkans who gradually moved in from Southern Russia (54). The Pechenegs are said to have used these tactics on several occasions during the reign of Alexius and John Comnenus (55) ; the references in Byzantine texts all speak of a war situation. As far as the Varangians are concerned, always considered to be élite troops, they may more than once have been used to wrest a victory at a critical stage of a battle by making a breach, with their axes, into the waggon-line of the enemy. The Varangians were reputed for carrying heavy axes and double-edged swords, hence their name πελεκυφόροι (axe-bearing Varangians). Dawkins is certainly right when he identifies the enemy as a nomadic tribe, the Pechenegs in his view ; to which I would like to add, one of the nomadic tribes living on Byzantium's Northern border, without specifying yet which tribe in particular (56).

(54) The Pechenegs were sometimes confounded with the Cumans, see *e.g.* Basilius of Edessa who reports the battle of Eski Zagra as a conflict between Greeks and Cumans, cf. Michael THE SYRIAN, *Chronicle*, ed. J.-B. CHABOT, III, Paris, 1905, p. 207, who also refers to the 'tactics' of the Cumans, suggesting that both Pechenegs and Cumans may have had the same way of warfaring, see also note 56.

(55) Anna COMNENA, *Alexiad*, VII, iii 7 = LEIB, II, p. 97 (battle of Dristra, 1087), VIII, v 5 = LEIB, II, p. 141 (battle of Lebounion, 1091) ; Michael THE SYRIAN, *Chronicle, op. cit.* (n. 54), *ibidem* (battle of Eski Zagra, 1121 ; see also note 51 for this battle) ; *Geisli* speaks of the "heathens' waggon-fort". Cf. C. A. MACARTNEY, "The Petchenegs", *The Slavonic (and East European) Review*, 8, 1929-30, p. 352 and 354, and P. DIACONU, *Les Petchénègues au Bas-Danube*, Bucarest, 1970.

(56) I think that the two translators of *Alexiad*, VIII, v 5 (LEIB, II, p. 141 and SEWTER, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p 257), exaggerate (when speaking of the Cumans at Lebounion who prepared their battle-line) by renderling κατὰ τὸ δοκοῦν πολέμου ... σχῆμα as 'à leur manière' and 'to their own fashion' This does not exclude, however, that the Cumans had indeed their own tactics, different from those of the Greek army. MACARTNEY, *ibidem*, p. 352, says that "At times they [Pechenegs] are mentioned by name in the Russian chronicles, and sometimes under the transparent description of the "kibitki" or "heavy chariots" ..." ; such a qualification could have been used to designate the Cumans as well, cf. note 54. Two anonymous poems written for John and Manuel Comnenus speak of Scythians and other nomadic tribes who 'lived' in wagons, *Fontes rerum byzantinarum*, ed. W REGEL, St. Petersburg, 1917, II, p. 334 (inaccessible to me ; cf A. A. VASILIEV, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, Madison-Milwaukee, 1964, p 414), S. P. LAMPROS, *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*, 8, 1911, p. 159 (cf. P. S. NĂSTUREL,

The geographical name Pezinavollu (Pézina Plains) as the place where the battle took place, seems to have led Dawkins to his conclusion. Indeed the name seems to be a reference to the Pechenegs (57). Often the name was interpreted as being the area inhabited by Pechenegs (58), which means that, at the time of Alexius, this land was situated north of the Danube. But the name could very well indicate an area where the Pechenegs simply had left some imprint of their passage (59).

"Valaques, Coumans et Byzantins sous le règne de Manuel Comnène", *Byzantina*, I, 1969, p. 183). In Greek texts the Vlachs are normally called 'Blachoi', so they are probably not referred to in these poems.

(57) The Byzantines used the term 'Patzinacia' to designate the lands inhabited by Pechenegs, cf. G. MORAVCSIK, *Byzantinoturcica*, Berlin, 1958, 2nd ed., p. 247 ; the same goes for 'Cumania', *ibidem*, *s.v.* 'Cumania'. In the Balkans a few geographical names preserving the name Pechenegs have survived, cf. MACARTNEY, *op. cit.* (n. 55), p. 352 (he does not give references).

(58) For Pézina Plains interpreted as the Pecheneg's country cf. LAIGN, *op cit.* (n. 48), p. 389, n. 4 : "The plains of the Pechenegs, a tribe on the lower Danube" ; HOLLANDER, *op. cit.* (n. 25), p. 787, n. 1 : "Inhabited by Pechenegs, a Turkish tribe, along the lower Danube" ; M. GYONI, "Les variantes d'un type de légende byzantine dans la littérature ancienne-islandaise", *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 4, 1956, p. 302 ; BLÖNDAL-BENEDIKZ, *op cit.* (n. 18), p. 148 : "Thus Snorri, using a curious place-name probably derived from the name of the warring tribe rather than from any real field-name nearby, describes the battle", and p. 153 : "There now remains the matter of the place names Pézínavellir and Blokumannaland. The former, as we have pointed out, points clearly to a confusion of the name of the tribe, Pechenegi, and Vallaka : Blaka is a very likely phonetic confusion also, pointing towards Wallachia, where the battle took place, as the main Pecheneg country was north of the Danube, in the Wallachian district ...", is less clear . Blondal was apparently of the opinion that the Pechenegs fought in their own land. In the translation of the *Geisli* we also find the name Wallachia, cf. n. 26. Cf. LOZOVAN, *op. cit.* (n. 42), p. 252 who, accepting Gyoni's view, concluded that the Pézina Plains indicate the Dobroudja, cf. DIACONU, *ibidem*, *passim*.

(59) Anna COMNENA, *Alexiad*, XIV, viii 6 = LEIB, III, p. 180, describes the Eastern part of the Balkan mountains as the place where the Scyths (= Pechenegs) used to pass when they invaded Byzantine territory, cf. M. GYONI, "La première mention historique des Vlaques des Monts Balkans", *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 1, 1951-2, pp. 501-2, 510 (the Pézina Plains of the *Miracle* could then be somewhere in the Toundja valley, cf. *ibidem*, pp. 506-510, map on p. 500) ; the Byzantine princess tells us that somewhere in the Paristrion, not far from Dristra, there was a place known to the local population as the 'meeting-place of the Scyths', *Alexiad*, VII, iii 1 – LEIB, II, p 94.

As far as the relations between the Pechenegs and the Byzantines are concerned, we have already seen how the two Comnenians, both Alexius and his son John, defeated their Northern neighbours, Alexius at Lebounion in 1091, John at Eski Zagra in 1121. As we have seen the battle of Lebounion took place at too early a date to account for the complete failure of the Flemish regiment, that of Eski Zagra too late to fit into the *Miracle*. It also seems doubtful that the Flemish survived some thirty years of hardships and perils. Individual mercenaries as Eindredi the Young may have stayed that long, it can hardly have been the case with a regiment that did not engage fresh recruits. Dawkins' conclusion that the *Miracle* relates the battle of Eski Zagra (where the Greek army confronted Pecheneg invaders) must therefore be dismissed. Dawkins' view was accepted by S. Blöndal, H. R. Ellis Davidson and B. S. Benedikz (60).

It is time to consider the other geographical name in the Old Norse text, Blokumannaland, the country the Byzantine army was heading for (61). This name may help us to identify the battle described in the *Miracle*, which must have taken place between 1091 and 1118. Until recently most scholars have seen in this name a reference to Wallachia, the land lying north of the Danube, corresponding to modern Rumania, inhabited by Vlachs (62). Hollander as well as other translators rendered the name as Wallachia, land of the Vlachs (63). But did the battle itself take place in Blokumannaland ? It is my opinion this was not the case. According to the *Miracle* the Byzantine emperor was leading an expedition against Blokumannaland (64) ; the battle itself took place

(60) BLÖNDAL-BENEDIKZ, *op. cit.* (n. 18), p. 148 s. ; Ellis DAVIDSON, *op. cit.* (n. 27), p. 191, 205.

(61) The various readings are : Blökumannaland, Blakumannaland, Lokumannalandi, Blokumannavollu, Blaukumannavollu (for the editions see note 17).

(62) Cf. GYONI, *op. cit.* (n. 58), p. 302 s. ; the authors quoted by Gyoni overlooked the fact that the Cumans lived in this area as well.

(63) W. MORRIS and E. MAGNÚSSON, *The Story of Hakon Shoulder-Broad, Heimskringla*, III, London, 1895 (*Saga Library*, 5), p. 429 : "Vlakmen's-Land" ; LAIGN, *op. cit.* (n. 48), p. 389, n. 3 : "Blokumannaland = the land of the Blokumenn, who were the inhabitants of Wallachia (modern Rumania), Greek Blachoi" ; HOLLANDER, *op. cit.* (n. 25), p. 787 : "Blokumannaland [Walachia]. VIGFÚSSON and POWELL, *Geisli*, *op. cit.* (n. 26), II, p. 291, translate Pezinavollu as Wallachia.

(64) The *Miracle* in *St. Olaf's Saga* is exceptional in giving the name of the enemy In the *Harald's Saga* (cf. CIGGAAR, *op. cit.* (n. 22) and *St Thorlac's Saga*

on the Pézina Plains. It seems to me that Alexius met the enemy half-way. In those years Alexius was hardly in a position to attack his enemies outside his own territory. All he did was repulsing invading neighbours. We are left in the dark with whom the actual battle was fought, with the inhabitants of the Pézina Plains or with the Blokumanni who probably had invaded Byzantine territory. It seems likely that the enemy were Blokumanni who were stopped by the Greek army in an area where Pechenegs had left some imprint of their name (65). Who were these Blokumanni, the inhabitants of Blokumannaland ? Several interpretations are possible.

As we have seen the Vlachs lived in Wallachia. But they were not the only inhabitants of the region ; alongside the Vlachs lived the Cumans, a heathen population who, by the end of the eleventh century, moved in where the Pechenegs had been living before, although some minor groups had survived after the battle of Lebounion. The presence of Vlachs, however, was not limited to the areas north of the Danube. In contrast to the Pechenegs and the Cumans, the Vlachs were not a nomadic people from the Asian steppes seeking their way into the Balkans. The Vlachs are regarded to be the descendants of the semi-Romanized natives of the Balkans. With the coming of waves of Slav invaders from the North they had retreated to the mountain areas to become herdsmen (66). As early as the eleventh century Vlachs were living on Byzantine territory in the European province of the empire. It is to be doubted they led a real nomadic life as did their neighbours (67), and it also seems doubtful that being shepherds they used war-waggons to protect themselves and their families during an enemy attack (68). Living in mountai-

(cf. A. VAN ARKEL-DE LEEUW VAN WEENEN and K. N. CIGGAAR, "St. Thorlac's in Constantinople, built by a Flemish emperor", *Byzantion*, 49, 1979, p. 432) the enemy is anonymous ; cf. note 22.

(65) Lozovan's conclusion (*Les Vikings, op. cit.* (n. 42), *ibidem*, that in the 1110s Alexius organized an expedition against the Pechenegs, must be dismissed.

(66) See *e.g.* D. OBOLENSKY, *The Byzantine Commonwealth*, London, 1971, p. 8.

(67) E. STĂNESCU, *La population vlaque de l'empire byzantin aux XIe-XIIIe siècles, structure et mouvement*, Athens, 1976, XVe congrès international d'études byzantines (with bibliography).

(68) *Ibidem*, p. 8, where rebellious Vlachs had left behind in the mountains their tents and their families (V. G. VASILIEVSKY-V. JERNSTEDT, *Cecaumeni Strategicon et incerti scriptoris De officiis libellus*, St. Petersburg, 1896, pp. 68-9

nous areas what would have been the use of waggons, apart from transporting goods sometimes? When Vlachs served in the Byzantine army they are thought to have functioned as scouts (69). Although the Vlachs were very unreliable according to a contemporary Greek writer (a general in the Byzantine army who may have experienced their unfaithfulness from time to time) (70), we do not hear of any open confrontation between Alexius or his immediate predecessors and the Vlachs (71). It is true their alliances were changeable, sometimes they stood with the Greeks, sometimes with the Cumans. A battle fought exclusively with the Vlachs therefore seems to be out of the question to identify the battle of the Old Norse *Miracle*, unless the text refers to a minor clash not recorded in the sources. But then one would ask why the Scandinavians were keen on glorifying a minor event not even noticed by Greek writers.

M. Gyoni saw in the name Blokumannaland an allusion to the Cumans (72). This view had been expressed by I. Gherghel whose work passed almost unnoticed (73), and very recently by K. Horedt (74). In later centuries the Cumans, like the Vlachs, were

(German transl. H.-G. BECK, *Vademecum des Byzantinischen Aristokraten*, Graz, 1964, p. 118; the new edition of Kekaumenos by G. G. LITAVRIN, *Sovety i rasskazy Kekavmena*, Moscou, 1972, is inaccessible to me.

(69) STĂNESCU, *ibidem*, p. 11 s.

(70) VASILIEVSKY-JERNSTEDT, *op. cit.* (n. 68), p. 74 s. (transl. BECK, p. 125 s.), cf CHALANDON, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 85, n. 2.

(71) CHALANDON, *ibidem*, p. 20, 61, 85-6, 153. Before the battle of Lebounion Alexius had recruited soldiers among the Vlachs (*Alexiad*, VIII, iii 4 – LEIB, II, p. 135); during the battle many Vlachs, enrolled in the Pecheneg army, seem to have deserted to the enemy (*Alexiad*, VIII, v 1 = LEIB, II, p. 140 and note 2).

(72) GYONI, *op. cit.* (n. 58), p 303 and p. 311, where the author announces a paper on the Byzantine-Cuman wars (the article was never published). For the Cumans see D. RASOVSKY, *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, 7, 1935, p. 245 s.; 8, 1936, p. 161 s.; 9, 1937, p. 71 s; 10, 1938, p. 155 s.; 11, 1940, p. 95 s. (in Russian, with French résumé), and more recently P. DIACONU, *Les Coumans au Bas-Danube aux XIe et XIIe siècles*, Bucarest, 1978 (sofar inaccessible to me). See also VASILIEVSKY, *op. cit.* (n. 39), *ibidem*, and *supra* p. 55.

(73) GHERGHEL, *op. cit.* (n. 48), p. 17, 30.

(74) When I had finished the article Dr Jonathan Shepard drew my attention to an article by K. HOREDT, "Blokumannaland şi Blakumen", *Arheologia Moldovei*, 6, 1969, pp. 179-85 (with French résumé). Ignorance of Rumanian debarred me

scattered all over the Balkan peninsula where they were noticed by crusaders. This was not yet the situation during the reign of Alexius when they started to raid the European provinces of the empire. Anna Comnena, in her *Alexiad*, gives information on two Cuman raids taking place in 1094/5 and 1113/4 (75). On both occasions Alexius organized an expedition against his former allies (the Cumans had joined forces with him at Lebounion (76)) ; now, hardly three years later, the emperor had to repulse them. On the other raid, the one taking place in the 1110s we do not have much information ; as far as Anna Comnena's information goes, no battle was fought. The Byzantines pursued the Cumans until the latter had retreated behind the Danube (77).

Gherghel and Gyoni, who both regarded the Blokumanni as Cumans, concluded that the hostilities described in the *Miracle*, are those of 1113/4. Gherghel did not even consider the events of 1094/5 (78), Gyoni's main argument being that in the 1100s the

from a full understanding of Mr. Horedt's views ; the same applies to a review by I. Ionescu in *Studii teologii*, 23, 1971, pp. 125-7, which was inaccessible to me. I have had to rely upon the French résumé par P. S. Năsturel, in *BZ*, 66, 1973, p. 186. Mr. Horedt interprets the name *Blakumen* as a contraction of Black Cumans, in contrast to the White Cumans who are mentioned in two contemporary Hungarian chronicles. I wonder, however, whether Scandinavians who occasionally met these peoples in the Balkans would have noticed the difference between the Black and White Cumans. Mr. Horedt does not explicitly speak of events taking place in 1094-5 ; as far as the Gotland inscription is concerned he gives the date 1100, apparently not seeing a link between the runestone and the Icelandic *Miracle*.

(75) For the events of 1094-5 (opinions on the exact date differ) *Alexiad*, X, i 5 s. – X, iv 11 = Leib, II, pp. 189-205 ; Chalandon, *op. cit.* (n. 1), pp 151-4. The *Russian Primary Chronicle*, transl. S. Hazzard Cross-O. P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor, Cambridge, Mass., 1953, p. 180 (*s.a.* 1095) reports that "The Polovcians under the son of Diogenes attacked Greece, and devastated the Grecian territory. The Emperor captured the son of Diogenes and had him blinded" ; the index, *ibidem*, p. 302, is misleading when qualifying Diogenes as a 'Polovcian prince' (it is of course possible that the Scandinavians, like the Russians, saw in Diogenes a Polovcian prince), cf. note 81. For the situation in 1113-4 cf. *Alexiad*, XIV, viii 1 – XIV, ix 3 = Leib, III, pp. 177-83 ; Zonaras, *Epitome*, XVIII, ch. 23, ed M. Pinder-Th. Buttner-Wobst, III, Bonn, 1897, p. 744.

(76) *Alexiad*, VIII, iv 2 s = Leib, II, p. 136 s. See also note 72.

(77) *Alexiad*, XIV, ix 1-2 = Leib, III, p. 183.

(78) Gherghel, *op. cit.* (n. 48), p. 18, 30, concluded that the Pseudo-Diogenes

Varangian troops had been reinforced by Scandinavians who had come to Constantinople in the retinue of king Sigurd of Norway in 1111 (79). It is true that at the beginning of the twelfth century the pilgrimage to Jerusalem of two Scandinavian kings resulted in a reinforcement of the Varangian forces (80). Indeed it is the contribution to the final victory of the battle by Varangians that constitutes the central theme of the *Miracle*, which means that there were Northerners in the Greek army.

In my introduction I have drawn attention to the fact that Robert II of Flanders, in 1100, did not stay in Constantinople to serve the emperor as requested and that in contemporary sources no information is given on Flemish living in Byzantium. Although this is an argumentum *e silentio*, it should not be neglected. If Robert II had stayed in Constantinople to serve in the emperor's army, our problem would have been easier to solve. It would have become clear that the Flemish of the *Miracle* were ex-crusaders (former companions of Robert II) and that the battle reported in the *Miracle* could well refer to events taking place in the 1110s.

I will not insist on Chalandon's view that the invasion of 1113/4 as reported in the *Alexiad*, is the result of a duplication of information on the Cuman raid of 1094/5 (81). Further research is needed here. I think, however, that the hostilities of 1094/5 should not be treated so neglectfully as done by Gherghel, Gyoni and Horedt.

First of all we have to consider an interesting new interpretation of the term Blokumannaland, given recently by E. Lozovan. Lozovan sees in the name a contraction of Cumans (to be more

was blinded at the end of the first campaign (1094-5), thus explaining his blindness in the 1110s.

(79) GYONI, *op. cit* (n. 58), p. 310 s. ; LOZOVAN, *De la Mer Baltique*, *op cit.* (n. 48), *ibidem* ; IDEM, "Varègues, Roméens et le lion du Pirée", *Revue Romane*, 8, 1973, p. 156.

(80) BLÖNDAL-BENEDIKZ, *op. cit.* (n. 18), pp. 136-40 ; this had also happened after king Erik of Denmark's visit to Constantinople in 1103, *ibidem*, pp. 131-6 ; SAXO GRAMMATICUS, *Gesta Danorum*, ed. J. OLRIK-H. RAEDER, Copenhagen, 1931, I, p 338, says that Alexius was still suspicious about the influence Northern visitors could exert on his Varangians.

(81) CHALANDON, *op. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 266-8 ; M. MATHIEU, "Les faux Diogènes", *Byzantion*, 22, 1952, p. 146 s., deals with the identity of the Pseudo-Diogenes.

precise of Black Cumans) and Vlachs : "Normalement les Roumains apparaissent associés aux Comans. Or une expression complète du type 'le pays des Valaques et des Comans noirs' aurait dû donner en langue varègue quelque chose comme **Blakbaker auk Kumaner land*. Il semble que Blokumannaland n'est que l'abréviation de cette périphrase" (82). I do not think that it is necessary to introduce here the Black Cumans. References to them are very incidental (cf. note 74), and do not, as far as I can see, occur in contemporary Greek sources. I do not believe that Scandinavians, either on their way to the Holy Land, either involved in military actions under the Byzantine flag, would have noticed the difference between White and Black Cumans. The explanation seems much more simple : the name Blokumannaland seems to be a contraction of the names Vlachs and Cumans (83). Indeed the combination Vlachs-Cumans, Cumans-Vlachs is rather frequently used, a century later, by Western writers on the Fourth crusade and the Latin empire (84).

(82) LOZOVAN, *De la Mer Baltique*, *op. cit.* (n. 48), pp. 530-1, who also concluded that Blokumannaland stands for Rumania ; *Idem*, "Varègues", *op. cit.* (n. 79), *ibidem*.

(83) For the etymology of the name see the *Additional note* at the end of this article by Andrea van Arkel-De Leeuw van Weenen, who proposes *Blaka – ok Kúmanaland* instead ; by contraction of the two names automatically an Umlaut took place thus changing *a* into *ö*. The double *n* in Blǫkumannaland may be due to a (folk-etymological) reinterpretation either of the original *Kúmana-* to *Kúmanna-* ('cowmen') or of the complete compound.

(84) The names are frequently coupled by Robert OF CLARI, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. P. LAUER, Paris, 1956 ; Geoffrey OF VILLEHARDOUIN, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. E. FARAL, Paris, 1938 (with modern French transl. ; English transl. by M. R. B. SHAW, *Joinville and Villehardouin*, Harmondsworth, 1963) ; Henry OF VALENCIENNES, *Histoire de l'empereur Henri de Constantinople*, ed. J. LONGNON, Paris, 1948 (modern French transl. in N. DE WAILLY, *Histoire de la conquête de Constantinople par Geoffroi de Villehardouin, avec la continuation de Henri de Valenciennes*, Paris, 1870) ; the Provençal poet Raimbaut of Vaqueiras who lived in the kingdom of Thessalonica, ed. J. LINSKILL, *The poems of the troubadour Raimbaut de Vaqueiras*, The Hague, 1964, XX, 26, p. 226, 228 and 231, note ; Philippe MOUSKES, *Chronique Rimée*, ed. F. A. DE REIFFENBERG, *Collection de Chroniques Belges inédites*, II, Brussels, 1838, p. 613 (ligne 29040/1). Cf. LOZOVAN, *De la Mer Baltique*, *op. cit.* (n. 48), p. 531, n. 37, who refers to D. GĂZDARU, "Referencias medievales a los Latinos de Oriente en monumentos germanicos y romanicos", in : *Homenaje a J. C. Probst*, Buenos Aires, 1953, p. 50 (inaccessible to me).

Although the name Blokumannaland is essentially a geographical denomination, there may also be a memory, not only of the country where the invaders came from (and where Vlachs and Cumans lived side by side), but of a military action in which both people took part. It is therefore interesting to know that Anna Comnena, in her account of the invasion of 1094/5, speaks of a cooperation between Vlachs and Cumans. Alexius Comnenus received information from a Vlach leader that the Cumans had invaded the empire with the help of Vlachs. Thereupon Alexius left Anchialus and sent several generals, among whom Constantine Humbertopoulos (a general of Western origin) with mercenaries, to the mountainpasses called Zygum (85); the Zygum is regarded to be the most Eastern part of the Balkan mountain chain (86). It is curious to know that the Flemish regiment at the battle of Lebounion had been fighting under the command of the same Humbertopoulos. It is therefore not unlikely that this time again the Western general had Western soldiers, Franks, Flemish and even Varangians, under his command (87). Gyoni concluded from Anna's report of the invasion that the Greek princess was wrong when telling that her father was informed of the Cumans crossing the Danube; Alexius left his capital after having been told that the Cumans had occupied the Paristrion, *i.e.* after they had crossed the Danube and probably the neighbouring mountains as well (88); this may suggest that Humbertopoulos and his colleagues were sent to attack the enemy from behind or had to ambush retreating and returning Cumans (89). The cooperation of the Vlachs with the invading Cumans went so far as to tell them the best way to get over the mountains (thus corroborating Gyoni's suggestion that they had passed the mountain chain already !) and probably helping them to do so. The Vlachs, living on Greek territory, were well acquainted with the territory, being shepherding mountaineers themselves. Cooperation with the local Vlach population is confirmed by the fact that Alexius'

(85) *Alexiad*, X, ii 6 - LEIB, II, p 193.

(86) GYONI, *op. cit.* (n 59), p. 500 s

(87) Humbertopoulos was not the first Western commander of Franks and Varangians; in the 1070s Roussel de Bailleul had the same command, cf BRÉHIER, *op cit.* (n 19), p 186; BLÖNDAI-BENEDIKZ, *op. cit.* (n. 18), p. 116.

(88) *Alexiad*, X, ii 4 - LEIB, II, p. 192. Cf GYONI, *op cit.* (n 59), p. 499, 503 s.

(89) *Alexiad*, X, ii 7 - LEIB, II, p. 194.

informant was a Vlach leader himself (90). The Vlach-Cuman 'alliance' may thus explain the persistent use of the name Blokumanni/Blokumannaland in the Norse text, even if the enemy were merely Cumans who lived north of the Danube. As far as the second Cuman invasion is concerned, the information is extremely sparse and nothing is heard of an actual battle nor of an alliance between both peoples.

There is still another argument that might refute Gyoni's thesis that the Old Norse *Miracle* speaks of events taking place in 1113/4. In a runic inscription of Gotland of the eleventh century the name Blakumanni also appears (91). The dating of runes is very difficult ; and although the habit to memorize one's death by such an inscription gradually stopped with the christianization of the Scandinavian North (92), one still finds examples of them in the eleventh century. The inscription of Gotland is considered to belong to the second half of the eleventh century, even to the end of it (93).

Most scholars regard the end of the eleventh century, or the beginning of the twelfth century, *grosso modo* as the terminus *ante quem* of runic inscriptions (94). The inscription I deal with comes from Sjonhem, Gotland, and runs as follows :

(90) *Alexiad*, X iii 1 = LEIB. II. p. 194.

(91) For other readings of this name cf. note 61. The inscription went almost unnoticed by 'Varangian' and Byzantine scholars, cf. GYONI, *op. cit.* (n. 58), p. 302, n. 12, who did not see a connection with the reign of Alexius Comnenus he was dealing with ; R EKBLOM, "Die Waräger im Weichselgebiet", *Archiv für Slavische Philologie*, 39, 1924, p. 211 ; A. LIESTØL, "Runic inscriptions", in : *Varangian Problems, Scando Slavica, Supplementum*, 1, Copenhagen, 1970, p. 128.

(92) K. DUWEL, *Runenkunde*, Stuttgart, 1968, p 72, who translates *Blakumen* as 'Walachen'.

(93) GYONI, *op cit.* (n. 58), *ibidem*, and EKBLOM, *op. cit.* (n. 91), *ibidem*. In a letter of 5/1/80 Dr. S. B. F. Jansson suggests, very carefully however, the middle of the eleventh century as a possible date for the runestone of Sjonhem. We hear of a Bulgarian-Vlach rebellion in Thessaly in 1066 (cf. CHALANDON, *op. cit.*, (n. 1), p. 85 s. ; if Rothfos was a pilgrim or a merchant one wonders what he was doing in that part of Greece. As far as a confrontation with the rebels by the emperor's army is concerned (if we assume that Rothfos served in the Greek army), we know nothing. This does not exclude the possibility that elsewhere Vlachs may have ambushed the Gotlander's party. Below I will suggest another solution.

(94) A. RUPRECHT, *Die ausgehende Wikingerzeit im Lichte der Runeninschriften*, Gottingen, 1958, pp. 9-15.

> Him swake Wallach-men [*Blakumen*] in his outfare. God help now the soul of Rothfos ! May God swike those as (who) him swake (95).

The 'outfare' in this context could very well be a journey to Palestine and/or Byzantium. The runic inscription teaches us that, if indeed these runes belong to the end of the eleventh century, people from Northern parts still went southwards, in all likelyhood to Constantinople. In that case there may even be a relation with the campaign for help launched by Alexius at the beginning of the 1090s (96) ; the Northern soldiers may have come too late to be of any assistance at Lebounion, but in time for the expedition against the Cumans some years later. We can also conclude from these runes that the name *Blakumen* is no fancy name, but a real, contemporary name. Later authors who wrote down sagas in the thirteenth century did not have to invent the name *Blakumen* (97). In Old Norse literature we find geographical names like Bulgaria, Hungary, Greece, etc. (in texts concerning Varangians), suggesting that the Northmen did know the difference between the countries they travelled through, and may have applied the name *Blakumen* to those living in what we call nowadays Rumania.

The stone with the runic inscription of Sjonhem, Gotland, was erected for a certain Rothfos by his mourning parents. It may have taken some time before news of the death of their son reached Gotland ; the informant must have been a compatriot or a companion who survived the confrontation with *Blakumen* (98). If

(95) *Gotlands Runinskrifter*, ed. S. B. F. JANSSON and E. WESSÉN, Stockholm, 1962, p. 263 s. (with bibliography) (= *Sveriges Runinskrifter*, XI) ; more recently S. B. F. JANSSON, *Runinskrifter i Sverige*, Uppsala, 1977, p. 65-6, also deals with this runestone. English translation in G. STEPHENS, *Old Northern Runic Monuments*, London-Copenhagen, III, 1884, p 287

(96) Between 1091 and 1095 Alexius asked the West for military help, cf. P. CHARANIS, "Byzantium, the West and the Origin of the First Crusade", *Byzantion*, 19, 1949, p. 24 s. ; DE WAHA, *op. cit.* (n. 7), p. 119. Scandinavians may have come to the rescue of the Byzantines as well, in spite of Alexius' suspicions (cf. note 80).

(97) See the *Additional Note* by Andrea van Arkel-De Leeuw van Weenen, at the end of this article.

(98) Rothfos was not the only Gotlander who went southwards. Contacts between Gotland and Byzantium seem to have been frequent, cf. S. MEWS, *Gotlands Handel und Verkehr bis zum Auftreten der Hansen (12. Jahrhundert)*,

the inscription should refer to events of 1113/4, the news should have reached the Baltic island in a period when it was no longer traditional to carve runes.

If the dating of the inscription, as belonging to the end of the eleventh century, is correct it may show a connection with events described in the Old Norse *Miracle*, refuting the interpretation of the *Miracle* by Gyoni and Gherghel at the same time. Until now the name *Blakumen* was mostly regarded as referring solely to Wallachians (99). The new interpretations given by Lozovan and Andrea van Arkel – De Leeuw van Weenen may also be applied to the Gotland runes. We should not entirely rule out the possibility that Rothfos was killed by Vlachs, but one wonders why such a confrontation (presuming that Rothfos was serving as a Varangian) is not recorded in the sources (100). One should advance the hypothesis that Rothfos was engaged in some battle, like the one

Greifswald, 1937 (diss. Berlin, 1937), *passim* ; T. J. ARNE, "Einige Aufzeichnungen über in Schweden gefundene byzantinische Silbermünzen", in *Studien zur vorgeschichtlichen Archäologie, Alfred Götze zu seinem 60. Geburtstag dargebracht*, ed. H. MÖTEFINDT, Leipzig, 1925, pp. 220-4. For 'Byzantine' influence on the painting cf. A. GRABAR, "Pénétration byzantine en Islande et en Scandinavie", *Cahiers archéologiques*, 13, 1962, pp. 296-301 ; A. CUTLER, "Garda, Kallunge and the Byzantine tradition on Gotland", *The Art Bulletin*, 51, 1969, pp. 257-66, and Elisabeth PILTZ, "Monuments byzantins en Suède des XIIe-XIIIe siècles", Communication XVe congrès international d'études byzantines, Athens, 1976 : I do not think that a discussion on the presence of two almost identical silver bowls in Preslav (the once Bulgarian capital) and Gotland, would be relevant here. Little Preslav (probably in the neighbourhood of Preslav) was a tradecenter where Vikings are said to have passed sometimes, cf. MEWS, *ibidem*, p. 63, n. 190, and p. 66 ; the bowls were alternately interpreted as Bulgarian, Byzantine and Nordic workmanship, cf. T. TOTEV, *Archeologia*, 8, Sophia, 1966, pp 31-7 (in Bulgarian), W. F. VOLBACH, *Catalogue de l'art byzantin*, Athens, 1964, p. 432 s. (inaccessible to me), and LOZOVAN, *Les Vikings*, *art. cit.* (n. 42), p. 251, n. 21. For more bibliographical details cf. *Dumbarton Oaks Bibliographies, Series I, Literature on Byzantine Art*, I, Washington, 1973, p. 329.

(99) T. J. ARNE, *La Suède et l'Orient*, Uppsala, 1914, p. 12, sees in the *Blakumen* a mixture of Bulgars and Rumanians.

(100) The cross carved in the runestone (see photograph in *Gotlands Runinskrifter*, *op. cit.* (n. 95), p. 264, fig. 108) could mean that Rothfos was a pilgrim to the Holy Land who took service in Byzantium, cf. J. SHEPARD, *Byzantinoslavica*, 39, 1978, p. 60.

described in the *Miracle* ([101]). In fact all depends on the dating of the inscription found in Sjonhem.

If our interpretation is correct, the runes are no proof of a more inland 'commercial' route to Byzantium, through Poland and Rumania, the reference being too incidental. The other routes, sailing the Russian rivers and the Black Sea, must have been more popular for the experienced sailors as the Northmen were ([102]). In the twelfth century Russian chronicle, compiled by Nestor around 1113, the Varangians are still said to travel to Byzantium along these rivers ([103]).

It may be safe to conclude that Rothfos was mixed up in some (military ?) action given the fact that he did not die a natural death. Apparently he was in a party since his death was affirmed later on. This could hardly have been the case if he travelled with a few companions on a 'businesstrip' without any survivors left to report his death. I venture to suggest that he was involved, may be even under the command of Humbertopoulos, in a military action with many casualities on the Greek side until finally the Varangians (and was n't Rothfos himself probably a Varangian ?) succeeded in overcoming the enemy. Whether the emperor witnessed the battle, as stated by the *Miracle*, is a minor detail ([104]). Did Constantine Humbertopoulos, who seems to have played an active role during the expedition, perish himself, after having ambushed the enemy ([105]) ? Nothing has ever been heard of him again ([106]). If he

([101]) Cf. note 95 ; Lozovan did not refer to the Gotland inscription.

([102]) Cf. RIANT, *op. cit.* (n. 32), p. 63 s. ; ARNE, *op. cit.* (n. 99), p. 14 s ; S. V. BERNSTEIN-KOGAN, "The Way from the Varangians to the Greeks" (in Russian), *Voprosy Geografii*, 20, 1950, pp. 239-70 (inaccessible to me). See also N. J. DEJEVSKY, "The Varangians in Soviet archaeology today", *Mediaeval Scandinavia*, 10, 1977, pp. 27-9, who refers to G. S. LEBEDEV, "The Way from the Varangians to the Greeks" (in Russian), *Vestnik Leningradskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta*, 1975, pp. 37-43 (inaccessible to me). The overland route through Poland was suggested by EKBLOM, *op cit.* (n. 91), *ibidem*, and MEWS, *op. cit.* (n. 98), p. 63.

([103]) *The Russian Primary Chronicle*, *op. cit.* (n. 75), p 53.

([104]) Alexius was present when, somewhere in the valley of the Toundja (cf. note 59), not far from Goloe, his troops defeated the returning Cumans, *Alexiad*, X, iv 10 s. = LEIB, II, p. 203 s. ; GYONI, op. cit. (n. 59), p 508.

([105]) GYONI, *ibidem*, p. 504. The *Alexiad*, X, iii 1 = LEIB, II, p. 194, says that the Cumans had *easily* passed the Zygum, which made Gyoni conclude (*ibidem*,

had under his command Flemish, Frankish and Varangians, he may have perished with them during the first violent enemy attack. Several years of constant warfaring, in Asia Minor and the Balkans, may account for the inadequacy of the Flemish mercenaries in the battle described by the *Miracle*.

The blindness of the heathen leader is a minor detail the importance of which should not be exaggerated. It may be explained in different ways, for instance it may support our thesis that the *Miracle* reflects the Cuman invasion of 1094/5 when the pseudo-Diogene was blinded (cf. note 75). This was done at the instigation of Anna Comnena's grandmother, Anna Dalassena, who was entrusted with the regency during the absence of the emperor ([107]). To blind one's opponent was a very common thing to do in Byzantium. If the blindness of the heathen leader was caused by the Greeks, the battle described in the *Miracle* may have taken place when the man returned home and, misfortune repeated, again fell in the hands of his enemy. In fact we know nothing about him, except that he was blinded. On the other hand it is quite possible that the story-teller introduced this element to magnify St. Olaf who was seen even by a blind man, such being the radiance of the former Norse king ! We meet this element in other *Miracles* as well ([108]).

In conclusion we may say that the Norse *Miracle* appears to suggest that Flemish cavalrymen who had come to Byzantium around 1090, were active in the Greek army during several years. In a battle with 'Blokumanni', somewhere in the Balkans, they were no longer able to resist the enemy. The name Blokumanni/Blokumannaland, a reference to Vlachs and Cumans, may have found its way

p. 511) that they did not or could not take the very high mountain passes because of their horses and chariots.

(106) Humbertopoulos, in exile after having plotted against Alexius, was now pardoned and called back by the emperor (*Alexiad*, VIII, vii 1 = LEIB, II, pp. 146-7). Alexius certainly was much in need of his best generals and troops among whom we have to count the Varangians.

(107) *Alexiad*, X, iv 5 = LEIB, II, p. 201, cf. GYONI, *op. cit.* (n. 58), p. 303 Nicephorus Diogenes was also blinded after a conspiracy, *Alexiad*, IX, xi 6 = LEIB, II, p. 183. We know nothing about an eventual blindness of the Cuman leader Tugorkan (in the *Alexiad* Togortak), cf. *Russian Primary Chronicle, op cit.* (n. 75), p. 179, 182, 183, 213.

(108) CIGGAAR, *op. cit.* (n. 22), and note 78.

into the Old Norse language and literature by the memory of an invasion in which both people played a role and when the Cumans had to confront a combined army of Greek, Frankish, Flemish and Varangian forces. An eleventh century runic inscription of Gotland seems to corroborate the thesis that Northmen took part in a battle with Blokumanni. This could be the expedition Alexius organized to resist the Cuman invaders of 1094/5 who were assisted by Vlachs. It seems to me that both the *Miracle* and the inscription of Gotland memorize the same event, in which Northmen suffered casualties, these being nothing compared with the total destruction of the Flemish regiment.

After having performed many acts of bravery in Asia Minor and in the Balkans, the Flemish horsemen vanish from history, hardly outliving the man who had sent them from the Low Countries to Byzantium, count Robert I of Flanders, who had died in 1093, shortly before the expedition (organized by Alexius) took place.

Leiden, May 1980. Krijnie CIGGAAR.

Additional Note

The various readings given in the editions are Blökumannaland, Blakumannaland, Lokumannalandi, Blokumannavollu, Blaukumannavollu. The various spellings of the first element of the compound all stand for Blǫkumanna- (or Blökumanna-, if we want to relate the normalized form to the Iceland phonemesystem after the merger of the phonemes *ǫ* and *ø* to *ö* in the early XIIIth century). Whereas the phoneme *ǫ* is usually spelled *o* or *au* in Icelandic and West Norwegian, East Nordic and East Norwegian usually spell *a* before *u* in the next syllable (cf. the Gotland runic inscription);

Blǫkumanna is the genitive of *Blǫkumenn* (sg Blǫkumaðr). This again is a compound with a genitive as first element : 'men of Blaka'. The usual explanation of this form is 'men from Walachia, Walachians', from Gr. *Βλάχοι* (so R. CLEASBY-G. VIGFÚSSON, *Icelandic-English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1957 ; J. FRITZNER, *Ordbog over Det Gamle Norske Sprog*, Kristiania, 1886 ; J. DE VRIES, *Altnordisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 2nd. ed., Leiden, 1977 ; F. HOLTHAUSEN, *Vergleichendes und Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altwestnordischen*, Göttingen, 1948). The only deviating explanation I came across was Jansson and Wessén's, *op. cit.*

(n. 95), pp. 267-268. They consider it to be a Slavic form derived with a *k*-suffix from germanic **valha* (pl. **valhōz*, isl. *valir* pl.), the germanic appellation for Celtic and Italic tribes. With Slavic *valak-* can be connected germanic **valhiska* (German welsch). The initial *v* in *valak-*, *vlak-*, has been replaced by *b* in the Old Gotland language (their assertion that the name does not occur otherwise in Old Norse is not right, as will be clear from the present article). The word occurs sporadically in Old Norse (*Eymundar Háttr*, *Vilmundarsaga*, *Egilssaga ok Asmundar*, *Jarlmanns Saga* and *Heimskringla*, references can be found in Fritzner, *ibidem*, and in the files of the *Arnamagnaean Institute*, Copenhagen) and not at all in Modern Icelandic sources, according to the *Ordabók Háskolans*, Reykjavík. It may, however, have survived into modern times in the *Ordabók Háskolans* under 'blokkumannaland' (literally 'land of the black men' = Africa). Also a reference was found to 'Pietroasso á Blökkumannaland'; Pietroasso is a Byzantine site in modern Rumania, north of Bucarest, cf. E. CONDURACHI, V. DUMITRESCU and M. D. MATEI, *Carte archéologique de Roumanie*, Bucarest, 1972, map 12 (first occurrence of blokkumenn in writing in the early nineteenth century).

It seems more logical that to indicate the land of the Vlachs one should have used the name *Blakir*, gen. *Blaka*, thus giving *Blaka-land* (cf. Bolgaraland, Ungaraland). The suggestion made by Lozovan that the name Blǫkumannaland refers to both Vlachs and Cumans therefore seems very plausible. It is interesting to know that in contemporary Greek sources (e.g. Anna Comnena's *Alexiad*) the name *Βλαχία*, land of the Vlachs, does not yet occur in the eleventh century, cf. E. A. SOPHOCLES, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine period (From B.C. 146 to A.D. 1100)*, Cambridge, Mass., 1870, 1887, modern repr. New York. See also note 83.

Eindhoven. Andrea VAN ARKEL-DE LEEUW VAN WEENEN.

THE RAIDS OF THE MOSLEMS OF CRETE IN THE AEGEAN SEA PIRACY AND CONQUEST

In the first quarter of the ninth century the equilibrium which existed between Byzantium and the Moslems was overturned. The Moslems, with startling naval successes which could be matched with their land blitz of the seventh century, landed in Byzantine Sicily, which was doomed to be lost for ever by 902. In the Eastern Mediterranean, after their surprising appearance in the siege of Patras by the Slavs in 805 or 807 (1), they forced the Byzantines into an agonizing longlasting defense.

The turning point in this struggle for sea-supremacy in the Eastern Mediterranean was the conquest of the island of Crete in about 824 (2) by the Moslems. This conquest was of immense significance since that island separates or rather connects on the one hand, the Aegean Sea and the Greek peninsula, and on the other Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt. Actually, the Moslem conquest and the Byzantine reconquest of Crete (961) form the landmarks of this struggle which threatened the very existence of Byzantium.

Crete was not conquered by the Moslems simply by chance as is sometimes wrongly assumed (3). Similarly the duration of the Moslem occupation of Crete cannot be merely attributed to the incompetence of the Byzantine leaders or just to the almost impregnable position of this island (4), but to some important

(1) D ZAKYTHINOS, *Οἱ Σλάβοι ἐν Ἑλλάδι* (Athens, 1945), 50.

(2) E. MURALT, *Essai de chronologie byzantine . de 305 à 1057* (St. Petersburg, 1855), 410 ; N. PANAYOTAKES, "*Ζητήματα τινὰ περὶ τῆς κατακτήσεως τῆς Κρήτης ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀράβων*", *Κρητικὰ Χρονικά*, 15-16 (1961-1962), 9-38.

(3) N E. OIKONOMAKES, "*Ἡ ἐπιδρομὴ καὶ ἡ κατάκτησις τῆς Κρήτης ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀράβων κατὰ τὸν Μπαλαδούρι*", *Κρητικὰ Χρονικά*, 17 (1963), 314 ; H. AHRWEILER, *Byzance et la mer* (Paris, 1966), 38

(4) E EICKHOFF, *Seekrieg und Seepolitik zwischen Islam und Abendland* (Berlin, 1966), 206.

changes in the international political relations of the time to be discussed further in this paper. Likewise, the naval attacks by the Moslems of Crete on the other islands of the Aegean should not simply be considered as aimless raids for destruction and looting but must be examined in the light of the *jihād* (holy war) of the Moslems in their efforts to expand the *Dār al-Islām*. It is the purpose of this paper to present those historical events in this light, in an attempt to present a panoramic view of the activities of the Moslems of Crete, though full comprehension is hard to obtain because of the paucity and fragmentation of the sources.

The authors of the relevant hagiographical works monotonously illustrate the destructive activities of the Moslems of Crete, but they also offer us scattered echoes of the historical events. The contribution of these works to the study of the history of our period is very important and it is fortunate that their number has been steadily increased in the last few years. However, little or no use has been made of those recently discovered hagiographical works by non-Greeks. There is not even a complete list of these valuable sources ; a brief list of the most recent findings has been compiled by Th. Detorakes (5). Ismat Ghunaym who wrote a recent work on Byzantium and Moslem Crete (1977) entirely ignores these hagiographical works (6). On the other hand, Greek scholars rarely use the Arabic sources except those included in Vasiliev's book, ***Byzance et les Arabes***. Astonishingly, in the First International Congress of Cretan Studies, in Crete, the Arabic sources were presented and discussed seriously through a distorted Turkish translation of 1871 (7). The scattered Arabic references offer us not only information about the Moslem raids of Crete but, what is more, glimpses of their life about which we know very little. Another source of information is provided by the contemporary Byzantine historians whose main concern was, nevertheless, the enumeration of naval battles and the competence of the Byzantine

(5) Th. DETORAKES. "*Αἱ ἀραβικαὶ ἐπιδρομαὶ καὶ ἡ ἐν Κρήτῃ ἀραβοκρατία εἰς ἁγιολογικὰ καὶ ὑμνογραφικὰ κείμενα*", *Κρητικὰ Χρονικά*, 21 (1969), 119-124.

(6) I. GHUNAYM. *Al-Imbarāṭūriyah al-Bīzanṭīyah wa Qrīt al-Islāmiyah* (Jedda, 1977).

(7) N. STAVRINIDES. "*Εἰδήσεις Ἀράβων ἱστορικῶν περὶ τῆς ἀραβοκρατίας ἐν Κρήτῃ*", *Κρητικὰ Χρονικά*, 15-16 (1961-1962), 74-83.

military leaders. Finally, the few coins and monuments found in Crete, on a small number of other islands and in Athens are our last sources of information (8).

To start with, we should dismiss outright some sweeping statements of modern scholars about Moslem Crete as being "a corsar's nest" (9) or that the Moslem island was exclusively supported by plundering or even mainly by piracy and the trade of slaves (10). A. R. Lewis expressed the view that during the ninth and tenth centuries, when the Moslems were taking the upper hand in their struggle for thalassocracy, along with the fleets of the official Moslem states sprang up some pirate nests with their own independent flottilas, as for example that of the city of Garigliano in Southern Italy. Thus a number of notorious pirate chiefs appeared who acted independently, but with the tolerance and even the encouragement of the official Moslem states, in the same way that the British, during their thalassocracy in the seventeenth century, tacitly encouraged the famous pirate Morgan (11). True as that may be of Garigliano, it cannot be applied to Crete. Not even Damianus and the notorious Leo of Tripoli who sacked Thessaloniki in 904 (both converted Byzantines) can be considered pirate chiefs. On the contrary, the Arabic sources present them as high ranking officials of their fleet (12).

No doubt Leo of Tripoli committed savage slaughter and enslavement of the local population, which was not an individual adventure, but part of the overall plan of the 'Abbāsid Moslems to weaken the Byzantine Empire by attacking its second most important city. Here we have to define somewhat the meaning of the word pirate. If we accept as a necessary distinction between a

(8) G. C Miles. "The Arab Mosque in Athens", *Hesperia*, 25 (1956), 329-344 ; Idem., "A Provisional Reconstruction of the Genealogy of the Arab Amirs of Crete", *Κρητικὰ Χρονικά*, 15-16 (1961-1962), 59-73 ; Idem., *The Coinage of the Arab Amirs of Crete*. Numismatic Notes and Monographs, 160 (1970), 1-86.

(9) G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, revised edition by P. Charanis (New Brunswick, 1969), 282.

(10) M. Canard, s.v. Ikritish, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed (1971), 1082.

(11) A. R. Lewis, *Naval Power and Trade in the Mediterranean, A D. 500-1000* (Princeton, 1951), 154.

(12) A. A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, II[1] (Brussels, 1968), 163, note 2, and 212-214

pirate and privateer the fact that the first operates without a delegate authority from any sovereign authority while the second's actions take place during the war and are sanctified by the state (13), then we definitely cannot apply the term pirate to the Moslem Cretans. Actually for the Moslems of Crete even their sporadic, isolated sea-raids were part of their maritime warfare against the infidels.

The Byzantine sources, and in particular the hagiographical works, abound with cries of indignant resignation towards the unscrupulous raids of the Moslems in the Eastern Mediterranean in the first quarter of the ninth century until 961. Naturally, there is a well understood tendency to denigrate all those Moslem sailors as bloodthirsty, unscrupulous pirates and in particular those of Crete. This tendency survives even in a number of modern scholars who consider Crete, as has been said, simply a pirate base. It should be noticed that, as Dolley points out, even the crews of the Byzantine navy have often been considered as inferior soldiers and at best semi-servile (14). Actually, the Byzantine sailors were carefully chosen and were highly skilled (15). The Moslem crews were on an equal footing, being scrupulously chosen and trained. Here it is worth mentioning that there are two parallel Greek and Arabic texts dealing with the discipline of the crew and naval tactics of this period : the *Naumachica* of Leo VI with the Emperor's admonition to the sailors and their leaders (16), and a similar guide found in Kitāb al-Kharāj of Qudāma with the Caliph's guidance to the Moslem sailors (17). Both treatises emphasize the great caution needed for the preservation of costly ships and try to instil high morale in the crew.

In addition to the skilled crews, the Moslems and Byzantines organized their military intelligence well for the safe movement of their fleets. The Byzantines used for this purpose a number of their bilingual citizens, speaking Arabic and Greek, who came from the

(13) H. Ormerod, "Ancient Piracy in the Eastern Mediterranean", *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, 8 (1921), 106 ff. ; Idem., *Piracy in the Ancient World* (London, 1924 ; reprint ed., Chicago, 1967), 67-68.

(14) R. H. Dolley, "Origin of the Ram", *Mariner's Mirror*, 35[1] (1950), 157-158.

(15) Dolley, "Naval Tactics in the Heyday of the Byzantine Thalassocracy", *Atti dello VIII Congresso internazionale di Studi bizantini* (Rome, 1953), 325.

(16) A. Dain, *Naumachica partim ad hunc inedita* (Paris, 1943), 19.

(17) Qudāma ibn Ja'far, *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, ed. Hamīn Khadīvajum (Teheran, 1870), 22-26. This part of the *Kitāb* was not included in De Goeje's edition (1889).

areas along the Arab-Byzantine frontier (18). Some of them were sent to the Arab ports as merchants and Ibn Ḥawqal (whose work was completed in 977) complains that such Byzantine merchants frequented the Moslem Mediterranean ports and acted as informers (19). When the Byzantine admiral Himerius was preparing his expedition against Crete (912), which never got off the ground, he sent spies to the Syrian ports to investigate whether the Moslems were aware of his preparation (20). On the other hand, the Moslems also used spies extensively. A number of the castles on the islands of the Aegean were captured by Byzantine traitors cooperating with the Moslem scouts (21).

In the ninth and tenth centuries technically the Byzantine and Moslem fleets were almost of the same calibre. Both possessed well constructed ships (22) and the Moslem *harraqas*, naphtha flame-throwing vessels, were a formidable match for the *πυρφόρα* ships of the Byzantines (23). Both Byzantine and Moslem fleets were headed by distinguished admirals (Leo of Tripoli, Damianus, Himerius, a.o.) who applied prudent and cautious naval tactics as reflected in their respective manuals which have survived (24). This cautiousness, on account of the brittle and expensive nature of the ships, is amply illustrated during the course of Leo of Tripoli's raid on Thessaloniki. When the Moslem fleet was heading towards Thessaloniki the Byzantine admiral, Himerius, who was in Thasos, ducked and

(18) V. CHRISTIDES, "Arabic Influence on the Akritic Cycle", *Byzantion*, 49 (1979), 94-109; D. A. MILLER, "The Logothete of the Drome", *Byzantion*, 36 (1966), 450-51.

(19) IBN HAWQAL, *Al-Masālik w-al-Mamālik*, ed. De Goeje (Leyden, 1873), I, 197.

(20) *Ἐδέξατο ὁ πρωτοσπαθάριος Λέων καὶ ἄρχων Κύπρου, ὁ τοῦ Συμβατίκη, ἀποστεῖλαι ἀκριβεῖς κατασκόπους εἰς τε τὸν κόλπον τῆς Ταρσοῦ καὶ εἰς τὰ Στόμια, ἔτι δὲ καὶ πρὸς Τρίπολιν καὶ Λαοδίκειαν, ἵνα ἐκ τῶν ἀμφοτέρων μερῶν ἐνέγκωσι μανδάτα, εἴ τι διὰ μελέτης ἔχουσιν οἱ Σαρακηνοί*" (Constantine PORPHYROGENITUS, *De Cerimoniis*, ed. Bonn, 657).

(21) N. K. MOUTSOPOULOS, *Κάρπαθος* (Thessaloniki, 1978), 344.

(22) S. MAHER, *Al-Baḥriyah fī Miṣr al-Muslimāniyah* (Cairo, 1967), 325-75.

(23) A. LEWIS, *Naval Power and Trade*, 134; K. A. ALEXANDRES, *Ἡ θαλασσία δύναμις εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν τῆς βυζαντινῆς αὐτοκρατορίας* (Athens, 1956), 147.

(24) DOLLEY, "Naval Tactics", 325; MAHER, *Al-Baḥriyah*, 377 ff.; DAIN, *Naumachica*, 22, 25.

avoided any confrontation with Leo of Tripoli [25]. On the other hand, after the sack of Thessaloniki, when Leo of Tripoli loaded with spoils and captives was moving awkwardly towards Crete, he carefully avoided confronting the Byzantine fleet [26].

The Moslem fleets did not raid the Greek islands of the Aegean indiscriminately. True there were aimless pirate raids by the Moslems in the Aegean, but we should not lose sight of the overall struggle between Byzantium and the Moslem world at that time. Actually, if we were to believe the hagiographical works, many of the islands would have been levelled several times to the point of annihilation. In general those raids must have been of two types : simple "razzias" for booty, and well planned attacks for conquest. To the first type belongs the attack of Nisiris (Nasr ?) against the town of Methymna on Lesbos (circa 867), found in the *Life of Saint Theoctiste of Lesbos* [27]. Nisiris is mentioned as the chief of the Moslem Cretan fleet and his raids, therefore, involved several ships. In the *Life of Saint Peter of Argos* we meet a more common practice involving a simple ship from Crete which was finally caught by a Byzantine cruiser [28].

On the other hand, a number of islands were occupied on a more permanent basis by the Moslems of Crete. Here it must be mentioned that it is difficult to believe all the exaggerated reports, found in the hagiographical works, about the genocide of the populations of many islands and coastal towns of the mainland, and their information should always be corroborated with the historical and archaeological evidence. Archaeological evidence shows that on some islands the inhabitants simply moved from vulnerable coastal

(25) It is noteworthy that the Byzantine authors mention that Himerius decided to avoid any confrontation with Leo of Tripoli because he was impressesd not only by the strength of the naval power of the Moslems, but also by the high morale of the crews : "*πλήθει τε καὶ προθυμίᾳ ὑπερέχοντας*" (George Cedrenus, *Historiarum compendium*, ed. Bonn, 262).

(26) Cedrenus, 263 ; I. Cameniates, *De expugnatione Thessalonicae*, ed. Bohlig (Berlin, 1973), 57 : "*Καὶ γὰρ ἐδεδίησαν μή που τύχοι παρὼν ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στόλος καὶ λάθοι κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπίνοιάν τινα μοχθηρὰν ἐργασάμενος*".

(27) Ed. Th. Ioannou, in *Μνημεῖα ἁγιολογικά* (Venice, 1884), 11.

(28) Chr. Papaoikonomos, *Ὁ πολιοῦχος τοῦ Ἄργους Ἅγιος Πέτρος ἐπίσκοπος Ἄργους ὁ θαυματουργός* (Athens, 1908), 68.

sites to safer naturally protected places (29). Local legends, though hard to place in time, hazily preserved a belief in such movements of populations as for example that of Kastania, a village in the area hard hit by Moslem sea raids, mentioned below as Voiai in southern Laconia (30).

The more permanent Moslem occupation of the islands of the Aegean had the following results: (a) The local Byzantine inhabitants had to evacuate some islands. This was definitely the case of the little island of Sokastro, near Carpathos. No churches have been found in Sokastro and even if we do not accept Moutsopoulos' view that a number of monuments found there were built by the Moslems (31), the tininess of the island and the lack of any churches suggest that the Christian population had abandoned the island. Sokastro formed a remote naval outpost for the Moslems of Crete. (b) More frequently the Byzantine inhabitants remained in their occupied islands, paid their taxes to the Moslems of Crete and abandoned their most vulnerable coastal towns which could be threatened by isolated Moslem attacks from other Moslem states. A typical example is the island of Naxos. Cameniates mentions that during Leo's raid in Thessaloniki (904) Naxos was under the Moslems of Crete and paid tribute to them (32). In the *Life of Saint Theoctiste of Lesbos* we read that about the same time a number of Byzantine sailors who had landed on Naxos attended the service in a local church and received holy communion (33). This reference amply illustrates the fact that the Moslems of Crete did not destroy the churches of those islands which had submitted to them.

The sea raids of the various Moslem states against the Byzantine Empire were rarely coordinated. Fortunately for the Byzantines there was never a naval expedition of the Moslem Cretan, Syrian and African fleets in the Eastern Mediterranean, though occasionally two Moslem fleets combined their attacks. Most of the naval conflicts between the Byzantines and the Syrian fleet, as has often been noticed, were related to the land war in Syria and Asia Minor.

(29) MOUTSOPOULOS, *Κάρπαθος*, 257, 310.

(30) CHRISTIDES, "*Παραδόσεις καὶ θρῦλοι ἀπὸ τὰ Βάτικα*", *Βοιαί* (1959), 1.

(31) MOUTSOPOULOS, *Κάρπαθος*, 342

(32) "*Ναξίαν, ἐξ ἧς οἱ τὴν Κρήτην οἰκοῦντες φόρους λαμβάνουσιν*" (CAMENIATES, 59).

(33) IOANNOU, *Μνημεῖα*, 11.

Even the sack of Thessaloniki in 904 by the Syrian leader of Byzantine origin, Leo of Tripoli, was not mere piracy but part of the war of attrition consistent with the attacks of the Byzantines against the Egyptian town of Damietta and the Syrian ports (34). There was no participation of the Moslem fleet of Crete in the sack of Thessaloniki as is occasionally wrongly asserted (35); in Cameniates (36) and the Patriarch Nikolaos' homily (37) it is explicitly mentioned that only the Egyptian fleet was cooperating with the Syrian. On the contrary it is to be noticed that when Leo of Tripoli's fleet loaded with booty reached Crete, the Cretan Moslems were taken by surprise and in their fright took it at first, as a Byzantine flottila which was coming to attack them (38).

The raids of the Moslem flottilas of Ifrīqiyah (Tunisia) against the Byzantines at first under their Aghlabid rulers (800-909) and later under the Fāṭimids who succeeded them were few and in general mere razzias. The most formidable of the Moslem naval attacks against the Byzantines, concentrated on the Aegean, were those of the Moslems of Crete which were often dangerous because they belonged to the above mentioned raids aimed at permanent conquest. The Moslems of Crete, as will be seen, were strongly supported by the Egyptians under the Ṭūlūnids (868-905) but later the Egyptians under the Ikhshīdids (935-969) abandoned them and offered no more than lip service to them.

All these various Moslem groups are usually clearly distinguished in the Byzantine sources. All Moslems are called in general by the name of "the descendants of Hajar" (*οἱ τῆς*, or *ἐξ Ἄγαρ*, or *Ἀγαρ-*

(34) G. Levi della Vida, "A Papyrus Reference to the Damietta Raid of 853 A.D.", *Byzantion*, 17 (1944-45), 212-221 ; R. Rémondon, "A propos de la ménace byzantine sur Damiette sous le règne de Michel III", *Byzantion*, 23 (1953), 245-50.

(35) The fact that Leo sold slaves to the Moslem Cretans (Cameniates, 63) is not a proof of any Cretan-Syrian alliance as wrongly suggested by Canard (s.v Ikrītish, 1084).

(36) Cameniates, 18 : "*παμμιγὴς τις ὄχλος ... τῶν τὴν Συρίαν οἰκούντων Ἰσμαηλιτῶν καὶ τῶν ὁμορούντων Αἰγυπτίοις Αἰθιόπων*" ; Idem , 55 : "*εἴς τινα ναῦν τοῦ ἀρχηγοῦ τοῦ κατ' Αἴγυπτον στόλου*".

(37) "*Δυσσεβὴς ἔφοδος ἐξ Ἀσσυρίων σύμμεικτος καὶ Αἰγυπτίων*" (I. Tsaras, "*Νικολάου Πατριάρχου ὁμιλία εἰς τὴν ἅλωσιν τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης*", *Μακεδονικά*, 1 [1940], 244).

(38) Cameniates, 59.

ηνοί) and even the Arabic version of the hagiographical work of the *Transfer of the Relics of Saints Vincentius, Valerius and Eulabia* calls them *Aulād hājar*, although the name *muslim* is also used for them (see appendix A). The old designations for the pre-Islamic Arabs, *Ἄραβες, Σαρακηνοί, Ἰσμαηλῖται*, which are found in the Greek sources, are also indiscriminately used for all kinds of Moslems [39]. Nevertheless, local names are often appended to these generic designations or replace them specifying the particular Moslem groups. Thus, the Moslems of Ifrīqiyah, either under the Aghlabids or Fāṭimids are called *Ἀφρικοί* [40], an appellation which was also used for the Vandals of Africa [41]. They are also called *Ἀφρικοὶ Σαρακηνοί* [42]. Moreover, another term used for the Moslems of Northern Africa is *Μαυρούσιοι* or *Μαῦροι* as for example in the *Life of Saint Athanasia of Aegina* [43], an appellation used previously in the Greek sources for the Berbers of North West Africa [44], which is not based on the Greek word meaning black but rather derives either from Phoenician or from an indigenous tribal language [45].

The Syrian Moslems are called *οἱ ἐκ τῆς Δαμασκοῦ βάρβαροι* [46] or *οἱ τήν Συρίαν οἰκοῦντες Ἰσμαηλῖται* [47] and in Nikolaos' homily *Ἀσσύριοι* [48]. It is to be noticed that Cameniates revives the memory of the Byzantines with the mention of the Sudanese, long time forgotten after the conquest of Egypt by the Arabs. The mention of the Sudanese as *Αἰθίοπες* is far from being a bookish imitation

(39) CHRISTIDES, "The Names 'Arabes', etc and their False Byzantine Etymologies", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 65 (1972), 329-333

(40) I. GENESIUS, *Basileiai*, ed. A. Lesmüller-Werner and H. Thurn (Berlin-New York, 1978), 82.

(41) Constantine PORPHYROGENITUS, *De administrando imperio*, ed. Moravcsik, 116 ; see also D. GEORGACAS, "The Medieval Names Melingi and Ezeritai in the Peloponnesus", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 43 (1950), 301-303.

(42) PORPHYROGENITUS, *De administrando imperio*, 228.

(43) *Acta Sanctorum*, Aug. III (1737), 170.

(44) CHRISTIDES, "Arabs as 'Barbaroi' Before the Rise of Islam", *Balkan Studies*, 10 (1969), 323.

(45) G. CAMPS, "Massinissa ou les débuts de l'histoire", *Libyca*, 8 (1960), 147

(46) *Life of Saint Damascenus*, *PG*, 94, col 440.

(47) CAMENIATES, 18.

(48) TSARAS, "*Νικολάου Πατριάρχου ὁμιλία*", 244.

without any actual ethnic meaning as postulated by Bartikjan (49) and Kazhdan (50). Cameniates precisely indicates that the *Αἰθίοπες* who participated in Leo's naval expedition against Thessaloniki came from Nubia which has common frontiers with Egypt. I believe that they were obviously Sudanese warriors sent regularly to the Egyptians according to the treaty known as *baqt*, made between the Sudanese of Nubia and the Moslems of Egypt (652), or Moslem Sudanese who had peacefully moved into Egypt and participated in its army (51). The Moslems of Spain are called *Ἀγαρηνοί τῆς Σπανίας* (52). Finally, the Moslems of Crete are distinguished from the rest with the appellation *Κρῆτες* which was sometimes added to the generic names *Ἰσμαηλῖται*, etc. or more often used alone (53). In the Byzantine authors the Moslems of Crete are also called "Spaniard-Saracens", *οἱ ἀπὸ Σπανίας ἐλθόντες Σαρακηνοί* (54).

Having thus defined the nature of the Moslem raids and the appellations of the various Moslem groups which threatened Byzantium in the Eastern Mediterranean as presented in the Byzantine sources, we can now turn our attention more specifically to the examination of the highlights of the Moslem-Byzantine struggle in the Aegean and the temporary and permanent encroachment of the Moslems of Crete in the Aegean. Finally, the causes of the failure of the Moslems of Crete to survive will be discussed within the broad context of the interrelations of the Moslem states of the period.

The main events in the Aegean at this period have been contracted in a somewhat unbalanced way by Miles (55), who based his study on the pioneering work of Setton (56), in a comprehensive

(49) Hr. BARTIKJAN, "Nekotorye utočnenija k perevedou sočinenija Ioanne Kameniaty Vzjatie Fessaloniki". *Vizantijkij Vremennik*, 19 (1961), 317.

(50) A. P. KAZHDAN, "On the Authenticity of Kameniates' Capture of Thessalonica", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 71 (1978), 308-309.

(51) F. Y. ḤASAN, *The Arabs and the Sudan* (Khartoum, 1973), 17.

(52) Theophanes CONTINUATUS, *Chronogr.*, ed. Bonn, 477.

(53) N. PANAYOTAKES, *Θεοδόσιος ὁ Διάκονος καὶ τὸ ποίημα αὐτοῦ "Ἅλωσις τῆς Κρήτης"* (Herakleion, 1960), 179.

(54) Theophanes CONTINUATUS, 474.

(55) G. C. MILES, "Byzantium and the Arabs, Relations in Crete and the Aegean Area", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 18 (1964), 3-32.

(56) K. M. SETTON, "On the Raids of the Moslems in the Aegean in the Ninth

study based solely on the geographical dispersion of the Moslem naval attacks. There is enough data to place these events within a chronological frame and distinguish the more permanently occupied islands by the Moslems of Crete from the rest.

We can divide the time between the conquest of Crete (circa 824) and its reconquest (961), during which the Byzantine-Moslem sea struggle took place, into two well distinguished periods. The reign of Leo VI (886-912), "whose military and naval ventures against the Arabs were notoriously unsuccessful" (57), forms the dividing line. With the end of his reign many Byzantine islands of the Aegean were firmly subjugated to the Moslems of Crete. Their Byzantine inhabitants either paid taxes to the Moslems or deserted those islands which were transformed into small naval bases to serve the Moslem Cretan fleet. The Arabic text of the *Transfer of the Relics of Saints Valerius, Vincentius and Eulabia* has both information about the time of the more settled expansion of the Moslems of Crete into the islands of the Aegean and a concrete reference to one of them probably Elaphonesos, which was transformed into a Moslem base (see appendix A). It mentions explicitly that by the time of Leo VI and Alexander (912) the Moslems of Crete occupied and did not simply raid, a number of islands neighbouring Crete.

The first period (circa 824-912) witnessed the Byzantines' agonized efforts to thwart the new Islamic state of Crete which was created in the midst of their Empire. They reorganized their navy (58), and when the imperial Byzantine navy made a number of attempts to reconquer Crete, the provincial Byzantine fleets undertook the patrolling of the Aegean (59). In order to police the

and Tenth Centuries and their Alleged Occupation of Athens", *American Journal of Archaeology*, 58 (1954), 311-319

(57) *Ibid.*, 314.

(58) L. BRÉHIER, ««La marine de Byzance", *Byzantion*, 19 (1949), 4-5 ; H. AHRWEILER, "L'administration militaire de la Crète byzantine", *Byzantion*, 31 (1961), 217-228 ; H. ANTONIADIS-BIBICOU, *Études d'histoire maritime de Byzance*, à propos du «Thème des Caravisiens» (Paris, 1966), 88-89 ; N. A. OIKONOMIDES, "Ὁ βίος τοῦ Ἁγίου Θεοδώρου Κυθήρων (10ος αἰ.)", *Πρακτικὰ Τρίτου Πανιονίου Συνεδρίου*, I (1967), 276-77.

(59) It should be noticed that in contrast to Bury's view (J. B. BURY, "The Naval Policy of the Roman Empire in Relation to the Western Provinces from the VIIth to XIth century", in *Centenario della nascita di Michele Amari*, II [Palermo, 1910], 26-28) the Byzantine navy – as we learn from the Arabic sources – was not

Aegean Sea, the Byzantines used mobile naval units. Such swift patrol boats appear to interfere successfully on behalf of the inhabitants of the islands in the *Lives* of Saints Peter of Argos, Euthymius and Theodore of Cythera (60). But their sporadic interference was unable to secure the regular sailing in the Aegean. The erratic sailing in the southern part of the Aegean is well illustrated in the *Life of Saint Theodore of Cythera*. Saint Theodore and his disciple Anthony were forced to wait for an entire year in Monembasia before they could embark on a ship to go to Cythera (61). But in a few months Anthony managed to find a passing ship which brought him back to Monembasia (62).

The conquest of Crete was just the beginning, the ignition of a chain reaction which soon made the Moslems masters of the southern part of the Aegean. Almost immediately following the conquest of Crete they started to raid the Byzantine islands. Their intention to occupy, not simply raid the Byzantine islands near Crete, and force their inhabitants to pay tribute is clearly stated in Theophanes Continuatus : *Καί τινας [νήσους] τῶν παρακειμένων οὐκ ἔλαττον [κατέτρεχον], ὡς καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς ἐγκατοικῆσαι, αὐτοὺς τοὺς οἰκήτορας καὶ αὐτόχθονας δουλωσάμενοι* (63).

One of the first islands to succumb was Aegina in the Saronic Gulf. The Byzantine historians say nothing about the loss of this island, but there are three *Lives* of Saints with explicit references to it. Alhtough modern historians have used them indiscriminately as evidence for the occupation of Aegina by the Moslems of Crete, we should evaluate separately the information of each *Life*. The *Life of Saint Luke the Younger* (64) and that of *Saint Theodora* (65) refer to

neglected from the seventh to the tenth century, cf. E. W. Brooks, "The relations between the Empire and Egypt". *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 22 (1913), 383

(60) Ch. Papaoikonomos, *Ὁ πολιοῦχος τοῦ Ἄργους, Ἅγιος Πέτρος ἐπίσκοπος Ἄργους ὁ θαυματουργός* (Athens, 1908), 68 : "*Ἅμα τῷ τὴν λῃστρικὴν ναῦν ἀκρωτηρίῳ προσχεῖν, μία τῶν φυλακίδων τριήρης ἀπό τινος νησιδίων φανεῖσα, ὥρμησεν ἐπ' αὐτήν ...*" ; R. P. Louis Petit, ed., *Vie et office de Saint Euthyme le jeune* (Paris, 1904), 36 : "*Διήρων γὰρ αὐτοῖς συναντησάντων γραικῶν, ἡ τῶν ὑβριστὴν ἐπιφερομένη ναῦς ἐάλω ...*" ; Oikonomides, "*Ὁ βίος τοῦ Ἁγίου Θεοδώρου*", 287.

(61) Oikonomides, "*Ὁ βίος τοῦ Ἁγίου Θεοδώρου*", 287.

(62) *Ibid.*, 288

(63) Theophanes Continuatus, ed. Bonn, 77

(64) *Lucas* iunior eremita in Hellade (896-†953), *BHG*³ (1957), 60, no. 994b ; *Life of Saint Luke the Younger*, *PG*, 111, 441-480 and P. Kremos, *Φωκικά*, I

the same attack by the Moslems of Crete while that of *Saint Athanasia*, refers to a different one by the Moslems of North Africa (66).

In the *Life of Saint Luke the Younger* (896-953) (67) it is mentioned that his grandparents along with the rest of the inhabitants of the island of Aegina were forced to abandon their native land which was attacked by the Moslems. The detailed description of the dispersion of the inhabitants of Aegina to various areas of the Greek peninsula leaves no doubt that here we do not have the usual exaggerations of the hagiographical works, but a reflection of an actual abandonment of this island. Since Saint Luke died in 953 we can assume that this event took place circa 830. The information found in the *Life of Saint Theodora* confirms the above mentioned detailed description of the abandonment of the island. Saint Theodora died in 892 (68). Since in her *Life* it is stated that it was during the life-time of her parents that Aegina was abandoned, the chronology of this exodus coincides with that mentioned in the *Life of Saint Luke the Younger*.

In contrast, the *Life of Saint Athanasia* (9th century) states that the African Moslems, *Μαυρούσιοι*, invaded Aegina (69). They killed Saint Athanasia's brother, and she decided along with her husband to move to the mainland. There is no mention of any total exodus of all inhabitants. This raid by the African Moslems should be placed before the above-mentioned fatal last attack of 830. Perhaps it can

(Athens, 1874), 25-62 ; for an analysis of the *Life* see G DA COSTA-LOUILLET, "Saints de Grèce au VIIIe, IXe and Xe siècles", *Byzantion*, 31 (1961), 332-343.

(65) *Theodora* Thessalonicensis monialis († 892), *BHG*[3] (1957), 273, no. 1737 ; *Life of Saint Theodora*, ed. E. Kurtz, in *Mémoires de l'Académie impériale de Saint-Petersbourg*, 8th ser., VI.1 (1902), 1-70 ; *Laudatio* in *PG*, 150, 753-772.

(66) *Athanasia* hegumena in Aegina insula (9th century), *BHG*[3] (1957), 67, no. 180 ; *Vita* in *Act SS*. Aug. III (1737), 170-75.

(67) "*Οἱ δὲ γε τούτου πρόγονοι, ἐξ Αἰγίνης ὥρμηνται τῆς νήσου ... τὰς συνεχεῖς ἐφόδους τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἄγαρ οὐ φορητὰς εἶναι νομίσαντες, αὐτοί τε καὶ οἰκήτορες πάντες, τὸ φίλον τῆς πατρίδος ἔδαφος πρὸς βίαν ἀπολιπόντες, μετανάσται γίνονται καὶ πρὸς διαφόρους ἕκαστοι διασπείρονται πόλεις ... καὶ οἱ μὲν τὴν Κέκροπος, οἱ δὲ τὴν τοῦ Πέλοπος, ἕτεροι δὲ τὴν τοῦ Κάδμου, καὶ ἄλλας ἄλλοι καταλαβόντες, ἐν αὐταῖς ἔχειν ἠναγκάζοντο τὰς οἰκήσεις*" (*PG*, 111, col. 441-44)

(68) *Supra*, note 65

(69) "Cum enim Maurisii e barbari homines in illas regiones irrupissent ..." (*Act SS*. Aug. III [1737], 170).

be placed as early as the year 805 or 807 when the African Moslems raided Patras. The attack on Aegina may have taken place even before the conquest of the whole island of Crete was completed. Panayotakes has persuasively shown that although the Moslems of Spain landed easily on Crete, they spent a number of years there before completing their conquest (70). To Panayotakes' arguments it can be added that al-Nuwayrī also describes this slow process (71).

A careful reading of the Byzantine historical sources, which are closely interlocked but which also retain independent variants (72), reveals the following : (a) The Moslems of Crete, while completing their conquest of Crete, were also engaged in raiding other islands (73). (b) Before the complete conquest of Crete, Michael II (820-829) tried to thwart the invaders. He sent against them Photeinus, the strategos of the Anatolic theme, and the *protospatharios* Damianus, who were crushingly defeated ; the first was killed and the second hardly managed to escape (74).

It should be noticed here that it is astonishing how quickly the Moslems of Crete created a naval state. Sailors they were not. Their famous leader Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar al-Ballūṭī, who appears in the Byzantine sources as *'Απόχαψ*, was a native of al-Ballūṭ, now

(70) PANAYOTAKES, "*Ζητήματα τινὰ περὶ τῆς κατακτήσεως τῆς Κρήτης*", 21

(71) M. GASPAR, "Cordobeses musulmanes en Alejandria y Creta", *Homenaje de Francisco Codera* (Saragosa, 1904) (appendix 4, p. 231). "Fataha minha husnān wāhidān wa lam yazal yaftah shayān b'ada shayān . ."

(72) J KARAYANNOPOULOS, *Πηγαὶ τῆς βυζαντινῆς ἱστορίας*, 4th ed. (Thessaloniki, 1978), p. 248 : no. 283 ; pp. 275-76 : no. 335 ; pp 276-77 : no. 336 ; F. BARIŠIC, "Les sources de Génésios et du Continuateur de Théophane pour l'histoire du règne de Michel II", *Byzantion*, 31 (1961), 257-271 ; R. J. H. JENKINS, "The Chronological Accuracy of the 'Logothete' for the Years A.D 867-913", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 19 (1965), 91-112 ; P. KARLIN-HAYTER, "Études sur les deux histoires du règne de Michel III", *Byzantion*, 41 (1971), 452-496 ; E TSOLAKES, *Βυζαντινοὶ ἱστορικοὶ καὶ χρονογράφοι Ιου καὶ Ιου αἰώνα* (Thessaloniki, 1978), 85-100 ; and more recently, Ath. MARKOPOULOS, *Ἡ Χρονογραφία τοῦ Ψευδοσυμεών καὶ οἱ πηγές της* (Ioannina, 1978).

(73) Theophanes CONTINUATUS, 77 . "'*Εκ ταύτης οὖν [Χάνδακος] οἷον ἐξ ἀκροπόλεως ὁρμώμενοι πᾶσάν τε ταύτην τὴν νῆσον κατέτρεχον καὶ τινας τῶν παρακειμένων οὐκ ἔλαττον.*" ; SKYLITZES, *Synopsis hitoriarum*, ed. Hans Thurn (Berlin, 1963), 44 : "*καὶ ἐκ ταύτης [Χάνδακος] ὁρμώμενοι τὴν ὅλην κατέτρεχον νῆσον καὶ τὰς λοιπάς.*" ; CEDRENUS, 94.

(74) Theoph CONTINUATUS, 76 ; CEDRENUS, 93-94 ; SKYLITZES, 43.

Campo de Calatrava (75). His followers were all from Cordova, the city which according to Idrīsī "never ceased to have illustrious scholars and distinguished men" (76). They were descendants of the Celto-Romans, born Moslems (*muwalladūn*), and lived in the "suburb" of Cordova until the Caliph al-Ḥakam I (796-822) expelled them from Spain (77). Therefore, they were mainly town dwellers with little knowledge of sea-faring, though undoubtedly they were joined by a number of sailors in their flight from Spain. Our sources say very little about those Moslem Spaniards who went to Crete via Egypt, but thanks to a branch of them which headed in another direction enough light is shed on the former as well.

The Spanish Moslems who were expelled by Ḥakam I were divided into two groups : one sailed to Egypt and later to Crete while the other settled in the North African town Fez, the newly founded capital of the Idrīsīds. The Arabic sources present the Spanish Moslems of Fez as skillful gardeners, construction workers and artisans (78). No doubt such also was the nature of the Moslems who settled in Crete. This explains their admirably quick construction of ships – using, of course, the local timber – which is mentioned just casually by the Byzantine author, Frantzes : "*καὶ νῆας μακράς ποιήσαντες*" (79), though the same author, speaking about the navy of Abū Ḥafṣ' son, mentions that his ships were bought (80). Probably he acquired them from the shipyards of Egypt, from where – as it will be seen – the Moslem Cretans also bought their arms.

Of course, the Moslems of Crete could resist the Byzantines and organize their navy with certain ease since the latter confronted at the same time other Moslem fleets in the Aegean which, although

(75) R Dozy. *Spanish Islam · a History of the Moslems in Spain*. trans. F. G Stokes (New York, 1913), 254

(76) Idrīsī. Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne. trans. R. Dozy and M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, reprinted 1968), 267.

(77) Dozy. *Spanish Islam*, 234-255 ; W. M Watt. *A History of Islamic Spain* (Edinburgh, 1965), 31-32.

(78) E. Levi-Provençal, "La fondation de Fès". *Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales d'Alger*, 4 (1938), 23-53

(79) Pseudo-Frantzes. *Chronicon*. Scriptores Byzantini V. ed V. Grecu (Bucharest, 1966), 242.

(80) "*Ληστρικὰς νῆας μακρὰς οἰκονομήσας*" (Pseudo-Phrantzes, 242).

acting independently, did not allow them to concentrate their efforts against the Moslem Cretans. Moreover, at the other end of the Mediterranean, in Sicily, which had already been attacked by Mu'āwiyah in 652, the Aghlabid Moslems, sailing from Ifrīqiyah, boldly secured a foothold during the reign of Michael II, and by 902 the whole island had fallen into Moslem hands (81).

By the end of the reign of Michael II another island, in addition to Aegina, seemed to have fallen into the hands of the Moslems – that of Cos, to the north of Rhodes. In his last attempt to reconquer Crete, just before his death, Michael II sent Craterus, the strategos of the Cibyrrhaeot theme, against the Moslems of Crete. He was also defeated and managed to escape to Cos where he was caught and crucified by the Moslems (82). Thus, Cos perhaps had been added to the more permanent conquests of the Moslems of Crete already at this early period (circa 829). But if Cos had been seized by the Moslems during Michael II's reign, it would be plausible that it had been later retaken by the Byzantines. Probably it was during the time of a certain Ooryphas (83), who was appointed "commander of the fleet" at the end of Michael II's reign, that Cos was retaken. Genesius states that Ooryphas had retaken many islands from the Moslems of Crete (84) The same Ooryphas persuaded the Emperor to increase the salary and ameliorate the quality of the crews (85), a practice which just a few years later was also adopted by the Egyptians (86).

The activities of the Moslems of Crete continued during the reigns of Theophilus (829-842), Michael III (842-867) and Basil I (867-886) and so also the indefatigable attempts of the Byzantines to reconquer Crete (87). The details of this struggle between Byzantium and the

(81) VASILIEV, *Byzance et les Arabes*, I, 61-88 ; AZIZ AHMAD, *A History of Islamic Sicily* (Edinburgh, 1975), 6-17.

(82) GENESIUS, *Basileiai*, 34.

(83) This Ooryphas was not the same person as the admiral Nicetas Ooryphas who served in Basil I's reign ; see J. B. BURY, *A History of the Eastern Roman Empire* (London, 1912), 143, note 7.

(84) "*Τὴν ἐλευθερίαν πολλαῖς <νήσοις> ἐχορήγησαν*" (GENESIUS, 35).

(85) "... *προστάξει βασιλικῇ διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ εἰσηγήσεως ἀθροίζεται ναυτικὸν στρατολόγημα γενναιότατον, οἷς ἀνά μ' χρυσοῦ ἐπιδίδοται νομίσματα*" (GENESIUS, 35).

(86) *Infra*, note 94.

(87) VASILIEV, *Byzance et les Arabes*, I, 56-61 ; EICKHOFF, *Seekrieg und Seepolitik*, 66 ff. ; AHRWEILER, *Byzance et la mer*, 104-105.

Moslems of Crete, as well as other Moslem fleets at this time are hazy, but the main outlines appear with reasonable clarity. During the time of Theophilus the Byzantines enjoyed a substantial victory when Constantine Contomytes, the strategos of the Thracian theme, destroyed a contingent of Moslems from Crete while pillaging the coast of Asia Minor and had advanced even as far as Mount Latros (88). But it was during Theophilus' reign that the Byzantines also suffered a heavy blow when their fleet was destroyed by the Moslems of Crete, off Thasos. The islands of the Aegean which had just been relieved of the Moslems' raids through the efforts of Ooryphas were again exposed to the attacks of the Moslem fleets (89).

Two more attempts to reconquer Crete, one by Theoctistus in 843 and another by Bardas in 886 failed miserably (90). Actually, the latter attempt did not even get off the ground. But the real blow to the Moslems of Crete was the Byzantine attack on the coastal town of Egypt, Damietta, in 853, repeated in 859 (91). In Damietta a heavy supply of weapons, destined for Crete, was discovered by the Byzantines (92). The Byzantines had realized that the "raison d'être" of Moslem Crete was Egypt. Vasiliev correctly points out that "on peut supposer que le plan byzantin comportait des opérations contre la Crète, qu'il s'agissait d'isoler, de couper de l'Égypte : car l'Égypte restait l'arsenal des pirates crètois" (93). Immediately after these raids, according to Maqrīzī, the Egyptians raised the salaries of the crews and made greater efforts for recruitment (94).

During the time of the above mentioned three emperors (829-886), the islands of the Aegean and the coastal towns of the Greek peninsula were repeatedly raided by the Moslems of Crete and other Moslem fleets. Even, at least according to George Amartolus,

(88) Theoph Continuatus, 137 : Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, I. 89-90

(89) "*Καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἑξῆς δὲ τὰς Κυκλάδας νήσους, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἁπάσας ὁ τῶν Ἰσμαηλιτῶν κατασύρων στρατὸς οὐκ ἐπαύετο*" (Theoph Continuatus, 137).

(90) Vasiliev, I. 194, note 1 and 2 ; A M Fahmy, *Muslim Sea-Power in the Eastern Mediterranean* (Cairo, 1966), 136, note 1 ; Theoctiste's expedition seems to be alluded in Ibn al-Daya's *Al-Muqāfa'a*, ed. 'Abd al-Aziz (Cairo, 1914), 112-113

(91) *Supra*, note 34

(92) Ṭabarī, III, 1417-1418.

(93) Vasiliev, I. 212.

(94) Maqrīzī, *Al-Khiṭaṭ*, II. 191 (= ed. Wiet, vol IV, 40)

Constantinople itself was attacked in 842 by a Syrian fleet of 400 vessels, which was destroyed by a tempest (95). The situation took a favourable turn for the Byzantines only at the time of Basil I (867-886). The fortress of Chalcis in Euboiea, an island already raided circa 835-840 (96), was attacked by an unknown Emir of Tarsus, called by the Byzantine authors *Ἐσμάν* (= 'Uthmān), circa 875 (97). The Moslems of Tarsus were annihilated by Oiniates, the strategos of the theme of Hellas.

The Moslem Cretans (circa 879) raided Methone, Patras and the coastal towns of Corinthia, where they must have remained for a certain time as witnessed by a number of Islamic coins of Crete found in Corinth (98). There they were attacked by the Byzantine admiral Nicetas Ooryphas who dragged his ships over the isthmus of Corinth instead of sailing around the peninsula, and taking the Moslems by surprise, he annihilated them (99). A year later another Byzantine admiral, Nasar, met in Methone an Aghlabid fleet, which had come from North Africa raiding on its way Cephalonia and Zakynthos (100).

With Leo VI (886-912) we reach the end of the first period which, as has been said above, marks the turning point of the Moslem-Byzantine struggle in the Aegean. It is a period not simply of Moslem raids but of consolidation of their power in the Aegean. In addition to the incompetence of Leo VI, Byzantium had to face a revival of the Syrian and Tarsus fleets. There was only a short bright moment in Leo's reign when his admiral Himerius defeated a Moslem fleet off Chios in October 905 or 906 (101). But he was soon

(95) VASILIEV, I, 192-93.

(96) "*[Νίσιριζ] παρά τῷ τῆς Εὐβοίης, συντριβεὶς ἄκρῳ, ὃ Ξυλαφάγος καλεῖται*" (*Life of Saint Theoctiste of Lesbos*, ed. Ioannou in *Μνημεῖα ἁγιολογικά* [Venice, 1884], 7).

(97) For the identification of this *Ἐσμάν* see MILES, "Byzantium and the Arabs", 7, note 23 and VASILIEV, *Byzance et les Arabes*, II[1] (Brussels, 1968), 56, note 1.

(98) MILES, "Byzantium and the Arabs", 5.

(99) Theoph. CONTINUATUS, 300-301.

(100) *Ibid.*, 302.

(101) JENKINS, "Leo Choerosphactes and the Saracen Vizier", in *Recueil des travaux de l'Institut d'Études byzantines* (Mélanges Ostrogorsky) (Belgrade, 1963), 172 ; VASILIEV, II[1], 185, note 1 ; for Himerius' rank and career see *Vita Euthymii patriarchae*, ed. Karlin-Hayter (Brussels, 1970), 221-222

to be humiliated. After a successful attack on Cyprus and Laodicea in 911, his fleet was annihilated off Chios in 912 by the Moslem admirals Damianus and Leo of Tripoli ([102]). Before his final defeat, Himerius, according to Jenkins, attempted to reconquer Crete (July 911-April 912) ([103]). However, Ahrweiler has shown that such a theory cannot be based on any solid ground ([104]). Moreover, Jenkins definitely errs when he suggests that Himerius was annihilated by the combined forces of the Moslem Cretans and the Syrians, under Damianus and Leo of Tripoli ([105]). The Syrian fleets always operated in accordance with the land warfare on the Taurus frontier and made no alliances with the Moslems of Crete ([106]). The Byzantine sources clearly indicate that it was only the Syrian fleet which annihilated Himerius' fleet ([107]).

During Leo's reign the aimless raids of all Moslem fleets on the Aegean islands ending in temporary occupation, included an attack on Samos (circa 893), at which even its strategos was captured by the Moslems, and another attack on Lemnos in 903 ([108]). Above all it should be emphasized that the most important fact to be reckoned with is the above mentioned consolidation of power by the Moslems of Crete by 912. A number of Byzantine islands now lay firmly in the hands of the Moslems of Crete. We can with a reasonable degree of certainty enumerate them based, in addition to some spotty references, on the following three sources : (a) the *Life of Saint Theoctiste of Lesbos* ([109]) ; (b) the itinerary followed by the Moslem

(102) Theoph. CONTINUATUS, 376-77 ; Vasiliev, II[1], 214.

(103) JENKINS, "The Date of Leo VI's Cretan Expedition", in *Προσφορὰ εἰς Στίλπωνα Κυριακίδη* (Thessaloniki, 1953), 278-281

(104) AHRWEILER, *Byzance et la mer*, 113, note 4

(105) "... and [Himerius] was finally annihilated off Chios by Eastern and Cretan Saracens" (JENKINS, "The Date of Leo VI's Cretan Expedition", 281.

(106) St. RUNCIMAN, *The Emperor Romanus Lecapenus and his Reign* (Cambridge, 1929), 123

(107) "*Ὀκτωβρίῳ δὲ μηνὶ ναυμαχία γέγονεν Ἡμερίου λογοθέτου μετὰ Δαμιανοῦ καὶ Λέοντος τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν, στρατηγοῦντος ἐν Σάμῳ Ῥωμανοῦ τοῦ μετὰ ταῦτα βασιλεύσαντος. Ἡττήθη Ἡμέριος .*" (Theoph. CONTINUATUS, 376-77)

(108) For the attack on Samos, see Theoph. CONTINUATUS, 357, and CEDRENUS, 253 ; for the attack on Lemnos, see Theoph CONTINUATUS, 365 About the same time in 902 or earlier in 896 Damianus raided Demetrias, a rich coastal town of Thessaly, see SETTON, "On the Raids of the Moslems in the Aegean", 313, note 10.

(109) An English summary of the *Life of Saint Theoctiste of Lesbos* is found in SETTON's "On the Raids of the Moslems in the Aegean", 313, note 14 ; see also A.

fleet of Leo of Tripoli which attacked Thessaloniki as it appears in Cameniates (110); and (c) the itinerary followed by Nicephorus Phocas in his victorious expedition against the Moslems of Crete in 961 (111) (See adjacent map).

The islands of Naxos, Paros and Ios formed necessary intermediate stations for both those sailing from Constantinople to Crete and vice versa. Thus Nisiris, the commander of a Moslem fleet coming from Crete, stopped on Paros on his way back to Crete after raiding Lesbos (112). Likewise, Symeon the Magister, sent on a diplomatic mission after leaving Constantinople, stopped on all three of those islands (113). Since Symeon appeared as a Byzantine diplomat attached to Himerius, we can date this mission, about which we know very little, circa 905 just after the sack of Thessaloniki (114). Symeon was sent most probably for an *ἀλλάγιον*, i.e., to recover Byzantine prisoners captured in Thessaloniki and sold by Leo of Tripoli to the Moslem Cretans (115). Cameniates informs us that by 904 the island of Naxos paid tribute (*jizyah*) to the Moslems of Crete and we can assume that this happened with the other two islands, Paros and Ios (116).

Paros was heavily raided by the Moslems of Crete; but we cannot accept the exaggerations of the author of the *Life of Saint Theoctiste* that it was only inhabited by deer and other animals (117). As Tomadakes accutely observed, it would be absurd to believe that hunters from Euboia would go looking for deer in Paros (118). This is just a literary cliché.

ORLANDOS, *Ἡ ξυλόστεγος παλαιοχριστιανικὴ βασιλικὴ τῆς μεσογειακῆς λεκάνης* (Athens, 1952), 478-79 and most recently N. TOMADAKES, "*Περὶ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς ἑορτῆς τῆς Ἁγίας Θεοκτίστης τῆς Λεσβίας καὶ ἡ εἰσαγωγὴ της εἰς τὸ Ἑορτολόγιον*", in *Χαριστήριον εἰς Α. Κ. Ὀρλάνδον*, I (Athens, 1965), 108-116.

(110) CAMENIATES, 57-59.

(111) Constantinus PORPHYROGENITUS, *De Cerimoniis*, 678 (manipulated by later hands).

(112) *Life of Saint Theoctiste of Lesbos*, ed. Ioannou in *Μνημεῖα ἁγιολογικά*, 7.

(113) *Ibid.*, 8.

(114) *Ibid.*, 3.

(115) CAMENIATES, 63.

(116) *Ibid.*, 59.

(117) IOANNOU, *Μνημεῖα ἁγιολογικά*, 9

(118) TOMADAKES, "*Περὶ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς ἑορτῆς τῆς Ἁγίας Θεοκτίστης τῆς Λεσβίας*", 109-110.

To the north of those three islands, Aegina most certainly belonged to the Moslems of Crete (119). Even further north, not far from Constantinople, the little island of Neon is mentioned in the *Life of Saint Euthymius the Young* as a semi-permanent base of the Moslem Cretans (120). Perhaps it was this island that Nuwayrī referred to in his statement that the Moslems of Crete even occupied islands close to Constantinople (121).

To the south of Naxos, Paros and Ios, the Moslems of Crete occupied, as mentioned before in this paper, the small island called Elaphonesos, just below Monembasia (122), which had navigational importance. Even further south the Moslem Cretans occupied the island of Cythera, as we learn from the *Life of Saint Theodore* (123).

The itinerary of Nicephorus Phocas completes our knowledge of the permanently occupied Byzantine islands. Nicephorus sailing cautiously, always near the coast of Asia Minor, stopped on Ios (124) (see map). From there the terra or rather mare islamica lay in front of him. He could find not a single Byzantine sailor to lead his fleet to Crete. After a certain delay the fleet was led to Crete by two ships from Carpathos, an indication of close cooperation between this island and Crete (125). Carpathos and probably nearby Sokastro were

(119) See *supra* notes 64, 65.

(120) Louis PETIT, ed., *Vie et office de Saint Euthyme le Jeun* (Paris, 1904), 34-35.

(121) "wa gazu mā haulaha min djazā'ir al-Qustantiniyah fafatahu akthar al-djazā'r ..." (I. GASPAR, "Cordobeses musulmanes en Alejandria y Creta", in his appendix 4, 231)

(122) Monembasia was also raided by the Moslems of Crete, but not in the ninth century as mentioned by Miles in "Byzantium and the Arabs. Relations in Crete and the Aegean Area", 6. It was raided in the middle of the tenth century : see P. PEETERS, "Miraculum sanctorum Cyri et Ioannis", *Analecta Bollandiana*, 25 (1906), 234.

(123) OIKONOMIDES, "*Ὁ βίος τοῦ Ἁγίου Θεοδώρου*", 279.

(124) Const. PORPHYROGENITUS, *De Cerimoniis*, 678.

(125) "*Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ χρονίσας ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τῇ Νηῷ λεγομένῃ μετὰ τοῦ στόλου παντός, οὐδένα μὲν εἶχε τὸν ὁδηγήσοντα πρὸς τὴν νῆσον τὴν Κρήτην, διὰ τὸ ἀγνοεῖν πάντας τὴν ὁδὸν ἐκείνην ἐκ τοῦ χρόνοις πολλοῖς μὴ παροδεῦσαι ἐκεῖθεν πλοῖον Ῥωμαϊκόν· ἀοράτως δὲ νῆαι Καρπαθικαὶ δύο τὸν κατάπλουν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ποιησάμεναι προωδοποίησαν αὐτῷ τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν καὶ εἰς Κρήτην ἀπήγαγον ...*" (Michael ATTALIATES, *Historia*, ed. Bonn, 224); Moutsopoulos' view (*Κάρπαθος*, 359-60, pl. 101) that certain monuments found in Saria of Carpathos were built by the Moslems of Crete could be a useful

occupied by the Moslems of Crete. Likewise, the little islands Christiana and Dia just across Crete were also undoubtedly in the hands of the Moslems. There may have been other unrecorded permanent Moslem occupations of Byzantine islands but at least the above-mentioned were surely under their dominion.

After Leo's reign until Phocas' time no substantial changes took place in the Aegean. However, Byzantium was relieved of its two most formidable enemies, the Emir of Tarsus Damianus, and Leo of Tripoli. Damianus died in 913 while besieging Strobylos (126) and in 923 Leo of Tripoli's fleet was destroyed by John Radinus (127). On the other hand, another attempt by the Byzantines under Gongyles to reconquer Crete again failed (128).

The Moslems of Crete, firmly established on their own islands in the Aegean, never ceased to launch raids (till 961) on the rest of the islands. Trade in the southern Aegean reached a stalemate. However, it seems that the Moslem Cretans must have felt a certain weariness as time went on and this is clearly reflected in an account of Nuwayrī in which legend and history mixed indiscriminately. This author mentions that Romanus II and the Emir of Crete, 'Abd al-Azīz, signed a treaty, according to which the Byzantines would pay a regular tribute to the Moslems of Crete and the latter in return would stop the raids in the Aegean Sea and would permit trade among the islands (129). This account was pointed out by Panayotakes who correctly remarks that in spite of the doubts which can be cast on its truthfulness, it underlines the *status quo* which had by that time been established (130). More than that, I believe that it shows that the Moslems of Crete were hardly dependent on such raids to sustain the economy of the island, as is so often asserted. The trading of slaves, which no doubt flourished in Crete as well as in many other parts of the Near East at that time (131), was no more

corroborating argument, but arguments based solely on style are always disputable.

(126) Skylitzes, 202 ; Theoph. Continuatus, 388.

(127) Skylitzes, 218 : Theoph. Continuatus, 405.

(128) Theoph. Continuatus, 436, 474.

(129) Gaspar, "Cordobeses musulmanes en Alejandria y Creta", 232.

(130) Panayotakes, *Θεοδόσιος ὁ Διάκονος καὶ τὸ ποίημα αὐτοῦ*, 52.

(131) E. Ashtor, "Quelques observations d'un orientaliste sur la thèse de

important for Crete than it was for Baghdad. We cannot accept the view that Crete, which under Byzantine rule had been so prosperous (132), became unproductive under the Moslems. Business must have continued as usual. The Arabic sources inform us that there was an export trade of local agricultural produce to Egypt in return for Egyptian weapons (133). Moslem Crete continued to export to Egypt such agricultural produce till the time of its reconquest (134) (see appendix B). The local population must have continued their work unhindered. Though arguments *ex nihilo* are not the best, it is worth noting that no source speaks of any persecution of the local farming population and/or forced Islamization, with the exception of a spurious reference to the martyrdom of the Bishop of Gortyne which is an anachronism (135). Tomadakes correctly points out that the Cretans would have continued uninterruptedly cultivating their land, speaking their language and preserving their traditions in the interior, while in the towns mixed marriages and corruption of traditions would have taken place (136). The farmers would have been left peacefully, as were all the *ahl al-dhimmah* (subjugated Christians) in the other Islamic countries, to pay their taxes (*jizyah*) unless they voluntarily accepted Islam (137). In fact the sources mention reluctance to resist the Moslems when they invaded Crete (138), which was explained by the exhaustion after the revolt of Thomas the Slav (139) and the religious dissastisfaction caused by the iconoclastic strife (140).

Pirenne", in *Studies on the Levantine Trade in the Middle Ages* (London, 1978), 176.

(132) N. KALOMENOPOULOS, "*Ἡ Κρήτη κατὰ τοὺς βυζαντινοὺς χρόνους*", *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Κρητικῶν Σπουδῶν*, 1 (1938), 143-164.

(133) CANARD, s.v. Ikrītish, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed. (1971), 1082-1083

(134) I. GHUNAYM, *Al-Imbarāturiyah al-Bīzantīyah*, 234

(135) N. TOMADAKES, "*Προβλήματα τῆς ἐν Κρήτῃ ἀραβοκρατίας (826-961)*", *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*, 30 (1960), 19.

(136) *Ibid.*, 20.

(137) A typical example of a Christian community in a Moslem state can be found in Egypt. There was also a Christian community in Moslem Spain, see W. MONTGOMERY WATT, *A History of Islamic Spain*, 32.

(138) GENESIUS, *Basileiai*, 33 ; E. W. BROOKS, "The Arab Occupation of Crete", *English Historical Review*, 28 (1913), 431.

(139) P. LEMERLE, "Thomas le Slave", *Travaux et Mémoires*, I (1965), 293.

The Cretan people, in particular the urban population, were influenced by the Moslems because of their close association with them. Not only in religious convictions were they influenced but also in their mores, as explicitly stated by Saint Nicon Metanoeite : "*Ἔτι δὲ λείψανα φερούσης τῆς μιαρᾶς τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν κακοπιστίας, ἐπειδὴ οἱ ταύτης οἰκήτορες, τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ τῇ μακρᾷ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ξυναυλίᾳ, οἷμοι, συναπαχθέντες, τοῖς ἐκείνων ἤθεσι καὶ ὀργίοις τοῖς μυσαροῖς καὶ βεβήλοις ἐπείθοντο ·*" (141).

In spite of the distorted image of the Moslems of Crete in the hagiographical works, far from being simple pirates, they developed a flourishing culture with its own distinct character in architecture and literature. Islamic pottery found in the remains of a Moslem building at Knossos, metal finds from the same place and a number of coins minted in copper, silver and gold found in Crete "amplify the view that the Arabs [Moslems of Crete] were not mere pirates but had developed and organized metal industries" (142). The gates of the palace of the Emirs of Crete, according to an oral tradition, were supposedly sent to the monastery of Megiste Laura in Athos where they are still preserved in excellent condition (143). Had this tradition been correct, this would have provided us with an excellent example of exquisite metal work of the Moslems of Crete, but its authenticity is doubtful (144).

Remains of the artistic activities of the Moslems have been left even in Athens, where a number of Arabic inscriptions were found as well as some artistic objects obviously made by Moslem artisans. Setton and Miles have shown that a Moslem occupation of Athens at that time, as postulated by Kampouroglou, seems rather improbable (145). I believe that those Arabic inscriptions in Athens,

(140) Panayotakes, "*Ζητήματα τινὰ περὶ τῆς καταχτήσεως τῆς Κρήτης*", 15.

(141) Sp Lampros, "*Ὁ βίος τοῦ Νίκωνος Μετανοεῖτε*", *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*, 3 (1906), 151.

(142) G. C. Miles and P. Warren, "An Arab Building at Knossos", *The Annual of the British School of Athens*, 67 (1972), 296.

(143) I. Papadopoulos, *Ἡ Κρήτη ὑπὸ τοὺς Σαρακηνούς*, Texte und Forschungen zur Byzantinisch-Neugriechischen Philologie, no. 43 (Athens, 1948), 95-96.

(144) Ch. Bouras, "The Byzantine Bronze Doors of the Great Lavra Monastery on Mount Athos", *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 24 (1975), 229-250.

(145) Setton, "On the Raids of the Moslems in the Aegean", 318 ; Miles, "Byzantium and the Arabs", 20.

mentioning the foundation of a mosque, were probably brought from the nearby island of Aegina, which, as I have mentioned above, was part of the permanent network of the Moslems of Crete. But this problem, as well as a discussion of the nature of the Moslem civilization in Crete and its effects on the local population, cannot be undertaken here and I will present them in a more comprehensive work to appear soon under the title of *The Struggle between Byzantium and the Andalusian Moslems (824-961).*

The reconquest of Crete by Nicephorus Phocas in 961 brought the Moslem occupation of the island to an end (146). The skill and military genius of Nicephorus Phocas undoubtedly played an important part in the reconquest of Crete. But it was basically an important change in the relations among the Islamic states of that time and to a lesser extent the peace which Byzantium then enjoyed with the Bulgarians (147) that facilitated the surrender of this almost impregnable stronghold.

To understand the end of the Moslem occupation of Crete as well as its conquest, which for about 137 years formed a provoking thorn in the most sensitive side of Byzantium, the Aegean Sea, we must examine it within the wider range of the complex relations of the Islamic powers of the time, the willingness of those states to undertake a holy war to save Crete, and in particular that of Egypt which remains the key to the understanding of the Moslem occupation of Crete and its consequences in the Aegean Sea.

The Byzantines were well aware of the situation of the Moslem states and their claims and rivalries, but nevertheless on the eve of Nicephorus Phocas' expedition, fearing the possibility of a last minute Moslem alliance which would unite their fleets, they pondered hesitatingly before they took their final decision (148). To thwart such an alliance which would threaten the very existence of

(146) G. SCHLUMBERGER, *Un empereur byzantin au dixième siècle, Nicéphore Phocas*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1923). In spite of its romantic character this book has still the most complete account of Nicephorus' conquest of Moslem Crete ; see also A M. SHEPARD, *The Byzantine Reconquest of Crete* (Annapolis, 1941).

(147) J KARAYANNOPOULOS, *Ἱστορία τοῦ βυζαντινοῦ κράτους*, I (Thessaloniki, 1976), 356, 394.

(148) "*Δεδοικότες τὴν μεγάλην συμμαχίαν τῶν ὁμορούντων Σαρακηνῶν καὶ τὸν στόλον τῶν Σπάνων καὶ Ἀφρικῶν*" (THEOPH. CONTINUATUS, 474).

the Empire, the Byzantines during the tenth century developed an energetic and subtle diplomacy, sending ambassadors to all Moslem states loaded lavishly with gifts [149], adapting themselves swiftly to the constantly changing state of the Moslems and using skillfully the method of the stick and carrot. Their efforts were facilitated by the disintegration of the Empire of the 'Abbāsids by the tenth century. Even before their political breakdown, the 'Abbāsids were deprived of their titular leadership over most of the rest of the Moslem states and the authority of Baghdad could no longer be asserted beyond Egypt [150].

The Byzantines' awareness of the situation of the Moslem states and their efforts to take profit of it are clearly manifested in a letter sent by Romanus II to the Emir of Spain, 'Abd al-Raḥmān II (822-852) in 839. The Byzantine Emperor flattering unbashfully 'Abd al-Raḥmān II, assures him that his Ummayad royal house is the only legitimate one to carry the leadership of the Moslems instead of that of the usurper 'Abbāsids [151]. No doubt such an assertion fell sweetly on the ears of the Ummayad 'Abd al-Raḥmān II one of whose successors, 'Abd al-Raḥmān III, cast off even the nominal tutelage of the 'Abbāsids and undertook the title of the Leader of the Faithful ('Amīr al-Mu'minīn).

The reigns of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III (912-961) and al-Ḥakam II (961-976), covering the period just before and a little after Nicephorus' expedition to Crete, mark the highest point of cordiality between Byzantium and Moslem Spain with exchanges of ambassadors and even the sending to Spain of a number of Byzantine artisans, skilled in the art of mosaics [152]. On the other hand, this time also marks the lowest ebb of the relations between Moslem Spain and the Fāṭimids who, sweeping through North Africa, threatened to expand even into Spain [153].

(149) M. Ḥamīdullāh. "Nouveaux documents sur les rapports de l'Europe avec l'Orient au Moyen Age", *Arabica*, 7 (1960), 288, 293-297.

(150) B. Lewis, s.v. 'Abbāsids. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed. (1960), 17-18.

(151) Lévi-Provençal, "Un échange d'ambassades entre Cordove et Byzance au IXe siècle", *Byzantion*, 12 (1937), 1-24.

(152) Idrīsī. *Description*, 259. Ibn 'Idhārī, *Al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, II, ed. G. S. Colin and É. Lévi-Provençal (Leyden, 1951), 231.

(153) Canard, "L'impérialisme des Fâtimides et leur propagande", in *Miscellanea Orientalia* (London, 1973), 163.

The excellent relations between the Umayyads of Spain and Byzantium, who shared a common enmity against the Fāṭimids, and the fact that the Byzantines by the time of the Cretan expedition had managed to throttle the power of the Ḥamdanids in Syria showed that the fear of the Byzantines of an alliance between the *ὁμοροῦντες Σαρακηνοί* (Ḥamdanids) and the *Σπᾶνοι* (Moslems of Spain), was unfounded (154). The real danger actually could come only from an alliance of the two North African states, that of the Fāṭimids and Egypt, and most probably both those Islamic states are meant by the term *Ἄφροι* in Theophanes Continuatus (155). Of those two African Islamic states at this time that of the Fāṭimids formed the bulwark of Islam upon which had fallen the responsibility to carry on the banner of the *jihād* against the infidels who had slipped away from the Amīr al-Mu'minīn of Baghdad. Under the energetic leader al-Mu'izz, they undertook a vigorous effort to reestablish the Islamic Empire inspired by their Shī'ite dogma of exclusiveness, i.e., Fāṭimid dominion, and used in addition to their weapons well organized propaganda through all the rest of the Islamic states (156). Above all the Fāṭimid al-Mu'izz (953-975) aimed at the extinction of any Islamic state standing in his way which he considered even a greater priority than the war against the infidels. Thus, any attempt of an alliance between Egypt and al-Mu'izz to save Moslem Crete was doomed to fail. Egypt alone could have saved Crete, but the time of the Ṭūlūnids had gone for ever. Egypt under the dynasty of the Ṭūlūnids (868-905), which included Syria in its domains, had developed formidable naval bases on the Egyptian and Syrian coasts and their flottilas constantly harassed the Byzantines. The fall of this dynasty was a turning point for the Byzantine-Moslem struggle in the Eastern Mediterranean and the fate of Moslem Crete was actually sealed with the fall of this dynasty, as the occupation of Crete had originated in Egypt itself and was supported by it.

(154) *Supra*, note 148.

(155) *Supra*, note 148

(156) M. QUATREMÈRE, "Vie du Khalife fâtimite Moëzz-li-din-Allah", *Journal Asiatique*, 3rd series, 2² (1836), 401-439 ; M. F. DACHRAOUI, "La Crète dans le conflit entre Byzance et al-Mu'izz". *Les Cahiers de Tunisie*, 26-27 (1959), 307 , see also *supra*, note 153.

The Moslem conquest of Crete, far from being a coincidental event, was a natural consequence of the increasing naval power of Egypt. The papyri from Egypt amply illustrate the frantic effort which was already being made there in the seventh century to create a naval power (157). Certain raids by the Moslems against Crete in the seventh century were of little importance (158). But the situation changed drastically in the first quarter of the eighth century. A number of hagiographical texts of this period are of the utmost importance. There are two published "engomia" of Saint Andreas, the Archbishop of Crete, and a third to be published by Detorakes, who first signaled the importance of those texts and dated them between 720-726 (159).

I believe that a careful examination of those texts shows the efforts of the Egyptian Moslems not to make simple raids for booty on Crete but instead serious attempts to conquer it, efforts which formed the prelude to the final attack in 824. In the *Engomion for Tito the Apostle of Christ* (160) the figurative expression "*καὶ ὄψονται πάντες οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τὴν χεῖρα τοῦ θεοῦ ...*" obviously refers to Egypt, the place from where the raids originated. In the unpublished *Engomion of Saint Andreas* we have a full description of a serious attack by the Moslems (probably again from Egypt) aiming clearly at the conquest of the island. They attacked the island with numerous ships and used siege machines to conquer it (161).

Thus, the final attack a century later was the culmination of the well prepared earlier efforts of the Egyptian Moslems. They urged Abū Ḥafṣ and his followers to conquer Crete. The Arabic sources do not mention it explicitly, but it can be understood from their fragmentary hints. They mention that Abū Ḥafṣ was asked to move with his army and their families to a Christian place (162). What other place could they have in mind but Crete, which they knew

(157) A. M. FAHMY, *Muslim Naval Organization from the 7th to the 10th Century A.D.*, 2nd. ed. (Cairo, 1966), 4-9.

(158) PAPADOPOULOS, *Ἡ Κρήτη ὑπὸ τοὺς Σαρακηνούς*, 36-38.

(159) Th. DETORAKES, "*Αἱ ἀραβικαὶ ἐπιδρομαὶ καὶ ἡ ἐν Κρήτῃ ἀραβοκρατία εἰς ἁγιολογικὰ καὶ ὑμνογραφικὰ κείμενα*", *Κρητικὰ Χρονικά*, 21 (1969), 120.

(160) *PG*, 97, 1141-1170.

(161) "*Οἱ τὴν Ἀγαρηνῶν ἀθεώτατοι καὶ ναυμαχίας ἐμπειρότατοι ... ἐπολιόρκησαν αὐτοὺς καὶ πολλὰς μηχανὰς ἐπῆγον ...*" (see *supra*, note 159).

(162) CANARD, s.v. Ikrītish, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed. (1971), 1083 ·

very well and which the Egyptians had tried to conquer earlier. Moreover, Theophanes Continuatus, supplementing the Arabic sources, explicitly mentions that before his final attack Abū Ḥafṣ had raided Crete earlier and was greatly impressed by its wealth (163).

The conquest of Crete originated in Egypt, as has been said. Likewise, its reconquest by the Byzantines was again caused by the new situation which had developed in Egypt. After the fall of the Ṭūlūnids (905) the new rulers of Egypt, the Ikhshīdids, showed no interest in continuing to play their part in the holy war. There is actually a document which sheds ample light on the delicate situation which existed between the powerful Fāṭimid Khalif of that time al-Mu'izz, and the Ikhshīdid III, ruler Kāfūr of Egypt. It is a letter of al-Mu'izz to Kāfūr preserved by the Egyptian author of the tenth century al-Nu'mān al-Qāḍī in his work *Al-Majālis wa-l Masāyarāt* (see appendix B for the Arabic text and English translation) (164). The letter has been translated into French with a short commentary by M. Canard, who nevertheless failed to understand the underlying complexity hidden behind its verbose appeal for Moslem unity and a *jihād* to defend the Moslems of Crete (165).

Al-Mu'izz in his letter sharply points out the importance of Egypt in any decisive military undertaking against the Byzantines who were threatening Crete : (a) it is in the most appropriate geographical position in connection with Crete ; (b) Crete supplies Egypt with the necessary agricultural products ; (c) there are close political ties between Egypt and Crete ; (d) Mu'izz with an undisclosed bitterness adds finally that both the Moslem Cretans and the Egyptians were under the same invocation, that is to say that they belonged to the Sunnite doctrine in contrast to the Fāṭimids who were Shī'ites. As Sunnites they naturally acknowledged as their highest authority the Khalif of Baghdad.

(163) Theoph. Continuatus, 74-75.

(164) H. I. Ḥasan and T. A. Sharaf, *Al-Mu'izz* (Cairo, 1948), 303-304, 321-322 ; I. Ghunaym, *Al-Imbarāṭūriyah al-Bīzanṭiyah wa Qrīt al-Islāmiyah* (Jedda, 1977), 233-235.

(165) Canard, "Les sources arabes de l'histoire byzantine aux confins des xe et xie siècles", in *Byzance et les musulmans du Proche Orient* (London, 1973), 285-86

A careful reading of Mu'izz's letter reveals that, in spite of his call for the unity of the Islamic *umma*, little brotherhood is actually shown. Mu'izz, to start with, undertakes himself the initiative and patronage of the Moslem expedition to save the Moslems of Crete. There is also a contradiction in this letter concerning the real desire of the Egyptians to participate in a military expedition for the defense of Crete. Mu'izz starts his letter by saying that he has learnt that the Egyptians were in the process of preparing ships to be sent to Crete. Nevertheless, at the end of his letter he expresses doubts about any such willingness after proposing that the fleets of the Egyptians and that of his own should meet at the port of Ṭabma in the region of Barqah and from there to move to Crete, adding that if the Egyptians are not willing to participate in this expedition, they will suffer the consequences. In a veiled threat Mu'izz states that in such a case he had no obligation towards the Egyptian Ikhshīdid III, meaning that he would feel free to break a treaty which must have existed between the Fāṭimids and Ikhshīdids at that time.

Thus, the letter ends with a threat against the Ikhshīdids, which makes us wonder what the real intention of the Fāṭimid ruler was in writing this letter. Dachraoui expressed the opinion that this letter was simply another propaganda trick of the Fāṭimids([166]). I believe that we can go even further and consider it as a trap rather than an invitation. Mu'izz wanted to challenge Kāfūr for a commitment which he knew he could not accomplish and thus humiliate him ; or his invitation to join the two naval powers might even have been a trap to attack and destroy the Ikhshīdids' fleet. Above all the Fāṭimids looked for the subjugation of Egypt.

On the other hand, the Ikhshīdids, with a fleet crippled by internal strife, could not accept the Fāṭimid challenge. They had tried skillfully to placate the Fāṭimids by sending gifts to al-Mu'izz and simultaneously recognizing the authority of the 'Abbāsids as Taghrī-Birdī informs us (see appendix C). Actually, the Ikhshīdids had no intention or power to continue the patronage of the Moslems of Crete. This drastic change in Egypt along with the peace which Byzantium enjoyed at that time with the Bulgarians cleared the way for the military genius of Nicephorus Phocas to reconquer Crete and

(166) DACHRAOUI, "La Crète dans le conflit entre Byzance et al-Mu'izz", 311.

put an end to the most dangerous Moslem state for the Empire which was far from being simply a corsar's nest (167).

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APPENDIX A

Narration of the Discovery of the Relics of Saint Valerius, the Bishop, Vincentius, the Deacon, and Eulabia, the Virgin [P. PEETERS, *Analecta Bollandiana*, 30[1] (1911), 301-304].

Arabic Text

خبر وجود أعضاء القديسين ولاريوس الأسقف
وفيكنتيوس الشماس وهولاليه البتول

قبل إستيلاء أولاد هاجر على جزيرة قريطش بني الحصن المنسوب إلى أصحاب البقر
فاستعلن لرجل من أهلة جزيل الفضيلة، أن جرنين من مدينة قرلكلونه التي
في بلد سبانيه قد ورد إلى هذه الناحيه أحدهما فيه أعضاء القديسين ولاريوس
الأسقف وفيكنتيوس الشماس وهولاليه القديسه البتول الشهري والأخر
فيه أعضاء جواري هولاليه الشاهدة المذكورة موضوعة، فلما حان الصباح ظهرا
الجرنان من اللجه جاعين مجيء السفن واستدنيا إلى الشاطئ بسياسة الله
الخالق كل شيء وناقله كما يشاء وصعدا إلى الأرض بغير أيدٍ بشريه، فعجب
من ذلك قاطنو الموضع المنسوب إلى أصحاب البقر وذهلوا ومجدوا الله على
معجز ما أبصروه، واستقر الرأي عندهم أن يبنوا للشهداء القديسين هيكلاً
في الموضع الذي أبصروا الجرنين قد وقفا فيه وقوفاً مذهلاً، ثم أدركهم المساء
وذهب كل منهم إلى منزله.

وبعد ذلك من تلقاء خطاعنا، إستولى المسلمون الملحدون على جزيرة قريطش
وتملكوها وأسروا منها إلى البلدان والمدن والجزائر التي تجاورها واستباحوها
واستأسروا السكان في الجزيرة المنسوبه إلى أصحاب البقر واقفروها، حتى
لم يبق ساكن فيها، وفي مملكة لاون والاسكندر الملكين إجتاز قوم بالهيكل

(167) The dating of the conquest of Crete (ca. 824) as well as a number of other relevant problems are discussed in my above-mentioned forthcoming book where the most recent works by J. Aguadé and A. Ṭayybi are also used.

المقدس المبني للجرنين فابصروها وتوهموا أن فيها أموال تحصل لهم فكسروها
وللوقت إستولى روح نجس عليهم فصرعهم وليثوا ينهشون أيديهم، فلما إتصل
هذا الخبر بنيقيطا أسقف مدينة مونوفاسيه الذي كان قبلا سلف أول قسوس
مدينة قرونه، أنفذ إلى الموضع المنسوب إلى أصحاب البقر كهنة يبصرون
ماذا صاب الجرنين ويأتونه بصحة الخبر.

APPENDIX A

English Translation

There was a Fortress built on [the island of] the Cow-Owners [Elaphonesos – Voiai] before the children of Hājar [Andalusian Moslems] conquered Crete. It was revealed to a very virtuous local person that two sarcophagi from the town of Barcelona of Spain were heading [floating] towards [the island]. One of them contained the relics of Saint Valerius, the Bishop, those of Vincentius the Deacon, and of Eulabia, the famous Virgin. The other sarcophagus contained the relics of the escorts of the above-mentioned martyr, Eulabia.

As the daylight was breaking through, the two sarcophagi appeared from the fathomless sea, sailing like boats, and approaching the seashore, according to God's plan. He is the One who has created everything and moves everything as He wishes. And they [the two sarcophagi] ascended the land without being [guided] by any human hands. And the dwellers of the place of the Cow-Owners were astonished and dazzled and praised God for the miracle they watched. They decided to erect a temple for these saints at the place they had noticed the two sarcophagi arresting miraculously. Then the evening befell them and they returned to their homes.

After these events – as a result of our sins – the heretical Moslems conquered the island of Crete and they occupied it and using it as their base [attacked] and sacked the nearby places, cities and islands. And they annihilated the island of the Cow-Owners and captured the whole population of the island and depopulated it, so that none of its habitants remained.

At the time of the Emperors Leo and Alexander (886-912), a group [of Moslems] passed the holy temple which had been erected for the sarcophagi. It attracted their attention and they suspected that there was [in it] a treasure to be pillaged. They broke it open and immediately a

confined spirit fell upon them. They were knocked down and started biting their hands. When this news reached Nicetas, the Bishop of the city of Monembasia, who was previously and archpriest (ἀρχιερεύς) of the town of Corone, he dispatched priests to the place [island] of the Cow-Owners to find out what happened to the sarcophagi and to let him know about the veracity of the news.

APPENDIX B

The Letter of Fāṭimid Mu'izz to Ikhshidid Kāfūr (961) (Qāḍī al-Nu'mān's Text).

Arabic Text

.... وقد إنتهى إلينا، أنك أظهرت الحركة إلى الجهاد، وإمداد هؤلاء القوم
بمراكب من قبلك، وأنت لعمري بذلك أجدر، لقربهم منك، وإتصالهم بك، وميرتهم
بلدك وكونهم وإياك في دعوة واحدة، ولو أسلمناهم إليك وقعدنا عنهم لما كان لك
ولا لهم علينا حجة في ذلك، ولكنا آثرنا نصرة أمة جدنا محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم
ولم نر التخلف عن ذلك وقد رجونا له، وألقوا بأنفسهم إلينا فيه، ونحن لا نحول
بينك وبين الجهاد في سبيل الله، ولا نمنعك من تمام ما أملت منه، فلا يكن ما
يتصل بك من إنفاذ أساطيلنا يريبك عن الذي هممت من ذلك، وأن تخشى على
من تبعث به وعلى مراكبك منا، فلك علينا عهد الله وميثاقه أنا لا نكون معهم
إلا بسبيل خير، وأنا نحلهم محل رجالنا، ونجعل أيديهم مع أيدينا، ونشركهم فيما أفاء
الله علينا، ونقيمهم في ذلك وغيره مقام رجالنا، ومراكبك مقام أساطيلنا حتى يفتح
لنا إن شاء الله، ثم ينصرفوا إليك على ذلك، أو يكون من أمر الله وقضائه ما هو
فاعله، فاعلم ذلك وثق به منا، ففي تظافر المسلمين على عدوهم وإجتماع كلمتهم
إعزاز لدين الله وكبت لأعدائه، فقد سهلنا لك السبيل والله على ما نقول وكيل
فإن وثقت بذلك، ورأيت إيثار الجهاد، فاعمل على أن تنفذ مراكبك إلى
مرسى طنبة من أرض برقة، لقرب هذا المرسى من جزيرة أقريطش، ويكون إجتماعهم
مع أساطيلنا بهذا المرسى، مستهل ربيع الآخر، بتوفيق الله وقوته وتأييده ونصره
وعونه، وألا ترى ذلك، فقد أبلغنا في المعذرة إليك والنصيحة لك، وخرجنا مما علينا إليك
ونحن بحول الله وقوته وتأييده ونصره وعونه، مستغنون عنك وعن غيرك،

APPENDIX B

English Translation

We have been informed that you seem to be moving towards the holy war, and that you would offer assistance to these people [Moslems of Crete] with your ships. And you, I swear on my life, you are the most suitable for such a thing because you are nearer them and you have ties with them and they supply you with provisions, and both of you recognize the same highest authority. Even if we asked to take care of them [the Moslems of Crete] and if we neglected them, neither you [the Egyptians] nor they [the Moslems of Crete] would have the right to complain about us [since we are not under the same spiritual authority]. But we have been chosen to assist the *umma* (nation) of our ancestor Muḥammad. There is no way we take a different course and we have placed our hope on it [this course] and they [Moslems of Crete] rely on us for it [the right course]. And we do not place ourselves as an obstacle between you and the *jihād* (holy war) on the way to God. And we are not going to restrain you from the completion of your hopes.

The news about the sending of our fleets should not change the decision you have taken. Do not worry, because of us, about the safety of your men and ships. You have from our part the pledge of God and His guarantee that they [your soldiers] will be treated in the best way like our own troops. And we will join our hands with their hands, and we will make them participate in whatever God will bestow on us. And in this matter and in any other we will treat them [your troops] exactly like our own ; and your boats will receive equal treatment like our own fleet, until victory with the help of God comes to us and then they will return to you or what God has destined will befall us. Learn that and trust us. When Moslems support each other against their enemies and unite, the religion of God [Islām] will become great and the enemies will be humiliated. We have opened the way for you. God will be the guarantee of what we say [promise]. If you trust that and contemplate, following the holy war, then try to send your boats to the port of Ṭamba of the region of Barcah, because this port is near Crete. The meeting of your vessels [Egyptian] with our navy [North African] at this port will take place the first of the month of the second Rabia' with the help of God, with His power, His support His assistance ad His aid. If you do not see it this way, we would be excused [from responsibility] on your behalf [after] counseling you in this matter, and we would be released from our obligation to you. And,

with the power of God and His strength, support, victory, and assistance, we do not have need for your or for others ...

APPENDIX C

The Personality and Diplomatic Activities of Ikhshīdid Kāfūr [IBN TAGHRĪ-BIRDĪ, *Nujūm al-Zahira*, IV, ed. Cairo (n.d.), 6].

Arabic Text

وكان كافور يدني الشعراء ، وكان تقرأ عنده في كل ليلة سير وأخبار
الدولة الأموية والعباسية ولقد شاهد ، وكان عظيم الحرمة ، وله حجاب يمنع عن
الأمراء ، وله جواري مغنيات ، وله من الغلمان الروم والسود ما يتجاوز الوصف
زاد ملكه على ملك مولاه الإخشيد ، وكان كريماً كثير الحلم والهبات حبيباً بالسياسة
فطناً ذكياً جيد الفكر داهية ، كان يهادي المعز صاحب المغرب ويظهر
ميله إليه ، وكذا يفعل بالطاعة لبني العباس ويداري ويخدع هؤلاء وهؤلاء
ويتم له الأمر .

APPENDIX C

English Translation

Kāfūr drew the poets [to his court]. Every night the "Acts" and the "Historical Deeds" of the State of the Umayyads and 'Abbāsids were read at his place [palace]. He had a number of companions. He inspired great respect. There were chamberlains controlling the Emir's entrance into his court. He had singing girls. A countless number of Byzantine and black servants were in his service. His kingdom exceeded [in power] that of his master Ikhshīd.

He was generous, and gave many robes of honor and gifts. He was an expert in politics, sharp-minded and shrewd. [On the one hand,] he used to offer gifts to al-Mu'izz, the ruler of Maghreb, and express his sympathy

towards him, and on the other hand, he acknowledged his obedience to the 'Abbāsids. Thus, he acted deceitfully and fraudulently towards each one of them.

LE STATUT DE LA CRITIQUE DANS LES *LETTRES* DU PSEUDO-DENYS

A la mémoire de François MASAI

Une fois qu'on prend conscience du caractère apocryphe des textes attribués à Denys l'Aréopagite (1), non seulement leur lecture révèle un visage nouveau, mais les questions fondamentales concernant l'identité de l'auteur, l'époque à laquelle il a vécu, le milieu d'où il est issu et les raisons de son entreprise, deviennent des questions sous-jacentes à toute recherche à son sujet. Cependant, il est certain que tous ces problèmes ne trouveront de solutions satisfaisantes qu'une fois que les nombreuses questions (théologiques, philosophiques, socio-politiques) que suscitent ces textes seront clarifiées (2). La présente étude (3) souhaite contribuer à cette

(1) Les meilleures études, à notre connaissance, sur l'œuvre de Denys l'Aréopagite sont celles de R. ROQUES, *L'Univers Dionysien*, Paris, 1954, et de W VOELKER, *Kontemplation und Ekstase bei Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita*, Wiesbaden, 1958. On notera toutefois que l'étude de Völker ne discerne pas suffisamment l'influence de Plotin et de Proclus sur Denys, en dépit de sa dépendance partielle des études de Roques. De ce dernier on retiendra également son *Introduction* à l'édition de *La Hiérarchie Céleste*, dans les «Sources Chrétiennes» (le texte a été établi par G. HEIL, et traduit et annoté par M. DE GANDILLAC). Cette contribution donne d'ailleurs, en plus des indications sur l'état de la question, une bibliographie utile, que l'on peut compléter par S. GERSH, *From Iamblichus to Eriugena* (An Investigation of the Prehistory and Evolution of the Pseudo-Dionysian Tradition), Leiden, 1978, pp. 313-337. Enfin, l'Introduction de M. DE GANDILLAC, *Œuvres complètes du Pseudo-Denys l'Aréopagite*, traduction et notes, Paris, 1943 (nouvelle édition 1980), conserve encore toute son actualité.

(2) Le problème nous semble bien situé par Roques dans son *Introduction* à *La Hiérarchie Céleste* (Paris, 1958), pp. XIV-XIX. Ce texte inspire sur de nombreux points notre propre démarche.

(3) Cette étude est la première d'une série de quatre études. Les trois autres seront consacrées à la question de la «démonstration» dans l'œuvre du Pseudo-Denys, à sa conception de Dieu et à l'étude des raisons qui auraient suscité cette œuvre et au milieu probable dans lequel a vécu son auteur.

recherche préliminaire, par l'élucidation du statut méthodologique des *Lettres* VI et VII. Car, il nous semble que le problème méthodologique, et notamment le rejet de la dialectique réfutative dans ces textes, reflète un état d'esprit qui n'est pas sans lien avec les préoccupations philosophiques, théologiques et politiques de l'époque. Mais il faut le souligner d'entrée de jeu : ce problème n'est pas simple, car, pour bien le cerner, il faudrait sans doute étudier d'abord le statut de la dialectique réfutative depuis Aristote, son créateur, jusqu'à l'époque du Pseudo-Denys. Heureusement, une étude, déjà ancienne mais fort significative, de De Ghellinck, consacrée au rejet systématique de la dialectique aristotélicienne lors des conflits trinitaires du IVe siècle, permet d'en apercevoir assez clairement la portee à l'époque médiévale (4). L'auteur y montre notamment l'opposition constante des théologiens chrétiens à cette dialectique, considérée généralement comme le support de l'impiété (5) et l'alliée des hérétiques (6). Mais ce qui est dit de cette époque semble valable également pour les deux ou trois siècles qui précèdent ces conflits trinitaires (7), ainsi que pour la période qui suit, jusqu'à la fin du Ve siècle (8). C'est dire que le problème que nous soulevons à propos de Denys n'est pas nouveau dans l'histoire de la pensée chrétienne. Il se pourrait, tout simplement, que les textes dont il est question ici en soient l'aboutissement logique : non seulement parce que le rejet de toute critique est mis au service de textes apocryphes – ce qui renforce d'emblée son impact psychologique –, mais aussi parce que les arguments qui le soutiennent,

(4) J. De Ghellinck, S.I., «Quelques appréciations de la dialectique et d'Aristote durant les conflits trinitaires du IVe siècle», *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, XXVI, 1930, pp. 5-42.

(5) Voir notamment les textes cités dans l'article de De Ghellinck, *op cit.*, p. 19.

(6) *Ibid.*, pp. 7 et 38, n. 7.

(7) *Ibid.*, pp. 6 ss. Voir aussi R. W. Smith, *The Art of Rhetoric in Alexandria*, La Haye, 1974, pp. 130 ss. Notons ici que cet important ouvrage ne discerne pas clairement la présence d'Aristote à Alexandrie, sans doute parce qu'il néglige beaucoup les sources chrétiennes. Qu'il nous suffise, pour indiquer l'importance d'Aristote dans ce centre culturel de l'époque, de rappeler ce passage d'Épiphane à propos d'Aétius : *σχολάσας ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἀριστοτελικῷ τινι φιλοσόφῳ καὶ σοφιστῇ, καὶ τῆς διαλεκτικῆς δῆθεν ἐκείνων μαθών, οὐδὲν ἕτερον πλὴν σχηματοποιεῖν τὴν περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου ἀπόδοσιν σχολαίτερον ἐπεχείρει* (*Haeres.*, LXXVI, 2 = *P.G.*, XLII, 517b).

(8) J. De Ghellinck, *art. cit.*, pp. 40 ss.

présentent des failles qui ne sauraient être comprises que par le caractère apocryphe des textes.

Dans les faits, deux points essentiels nous paraissent impliqués par le rejet de la dialectique réfutative chez le Pseudo-Denys : d'une part, la présupposition d'une vérité excluant tout doute possible, et, d'autre part, la nécessité d'éviter toute polémique. Ces deux points, présentés par l'auteur dans leur complémentarité, et soutenus par le caractère intentionnellement apocryphe des textes, semble bien viser un double but : affaiblir l'impact de la philosophie non-chrétienne et, en même temps, anéantir les querelles intestines du christianisme.

Dans la courte *Lettre VI* (9) adressée à Sosipater, cette double question de la vérité et de l'absence de toute polémique est expressément associée au rejet de la dialectique réfutative. Il y est dit que le fait de condamner ou de réfuter dialectiquement un culte (païen) ou une doctrine (philosophique ou théologique) qui ne paraissent pas bons, n'implique pas nécessairement une victoire et encore moins la vérité de nos propres convictions. Car le vrai, est-il dit, qui est à la fois unique et secret, peut se voiler et se dissimuler dans la multitude des choses fausses et apparentes. Rien ne dit, précise l'auteur, qu'un objet est d'emblée blanc parce qu'il n'est pas rouge, ni qu'il est nécessairement homme parce qu'il n'est pas cheval. Partant de là, il se croit autorisé à ordonner à Sosipater de cesser de contredire ses adversaires et de tenir des discours vrais qui soient absolument irréfutables (*ὡς πάντη εἶναι ἀνεξέλεγκτα τὰ λεγόμενα*) (10). Cette perspective est nettement renforcée par la *Lettre VII*, adressée à Polycarpe. L'auteur y prétend qu'il ne s'est jamais opposé aux Grecs (c'est-à-dire aux païens) ni à d'autres adversaires quels qu'ils soient (ce qui suppose également les juifs et les chrétiens), car si les hommes de bien pouvaient connaître et exposer le vrai en soi, tel qu'il est réellement, ils s'en contenteraient pleinement. Une fois cette vérité, quelle qu'elle soit, correctement démontrée et clairement établie, tout ce qui lui est étranger (*πᾶν τὸ ἑτέρως ἔχον*) et feint de lui ressembler, se réfute par lui-même comme quelque chose qui est autre que l'être authentique, qui lui est aussi dissemblable et apparent (11). «Tout ce qui n'est pas parfaitement conforme à cette

(9) MIGNE, *PG.*, III, 1077 A.
(10) *Ibid.*
(11) *Ibid.*, 1077B-C, 1.

vérité, dit-il quelques lignes plus loin, se trouve rejeté *ipso facto* par la seule présence inébranlable de l'authentique vérité» (12). Réitérant par là sa position de départ, et indiquant de nouveau qu'en vertu de ce principe il n'a jamais suscité de controverse contre aucun Grec ou autre adversaire quel qu'il soit, il affirme qu'il lui suffit de connaître la vérité et, la connaissant, de l'enseigner comme il convient (13). Pour justifier ces affirmations successives qui nient toute valeur à la dialectique réfutative, sous prétexte qu'à l'égard de la vérité établie elle n'a aucun sens, le Pseudo-Denys retient un argument non plus logique, comme dans la *Lettre VI*, mais plutôt d'ordre empirique. «Il est superflu, dit-il, à qui révèle le vrai, de disputer avec celui-ci ou celui-là, car chacun prétend que sa pièce de monnaie est authentique, alors qu'ils ne possèdent peut-être tous qu'une lointaine contrefaçon de quelque parcelle de vérité. Et si tu convaincs celui-ci, celui-là puis un troisième viendront rallumer le même débat» (14).

En d'autres termes, à l'instar des Pères de l'Église du IVe siècle, l'auteur rejette la méthode introduite jadis par Socrate et thématisée par Aristote, qui cherche à faire prévaloir un rapport dialectique et critique entre un interlocuteur et ses adversaires. La raison évoquée est claire : la dialectique est inutile, un non-sens même, pour celui qui est en possession de la vérité. Or, dans l'esprit de la philosophie ancienne, dont les fondements méthodologiques sont ici mis en question, la critique est utile, voire indispensable à toute clarification en vue de la vérité ; elle est le moyen le plus sain et le plus efficace pour tracer la voie de la vérité. Chez Aristote, en particulier, la dialectique réfutative, en tant qu'elle est critique (*πειραστική*), prépare au discours philosophique proprement dit, qui fait connaître (*γνωριστική*) (15). La plupart des Pères de l'Église, dans leur lutte contre le paganisme ou les hérésies chrétiennes, ou, inversement les Philosophes païens, dans leur lutte contre le christianisme, en ont fait souvent usage, consciemment ou inconsciemment. On notera, d'ailleurs, qu'en plus de la dialectique, la plupart des théologiens

(12) *Ibid.*, 1079A. Trad. M. DE GANDILLAC.

(13) *Ibid.*

(14) *Ibid.*, 1077C.

(15) Nous nous permettons de renvoyer ici à notre étude «Dialectique et philosophie chez Aristote», *Φιλοσοφία* (Annales du Centre de Recherche sur la philosophie grecque de l'Académie d'Athènes), 8-9, 1978-79, pp. 229-56 ; 234 ss.

chrétiens ont employé abondamment, dans leurs homélies, la rhétorique, même si dans les faits ils paraissent la condamner également ([16]). Ce double phénomène est assez intéressant, car il pourrait jeter un peu de lumière sur la psychologie des intellectuels de l'époque. Mais c'est là une étude qui déborde notre propos ([17]). On retiendra surtout, en cet endroit, que le texte de Denys pousse ce processus à son comble : chez lui, en effet, on ne se soucie même plus de réfuter vraiment ; il rejette expressément toute préparation dialectique parce que la vérité n'est plus à proprement parler l'objet d'une recherche, mais s'affirme comme un prédonné. Certes, l'auteur parle d'une vérité correctement démontrée et clairement établie ; mais la façon dont il en parle, en refusant notamment l'*épreuve* même de cette vérité, soulève une aporie. Car, tout se passe ici comme si, entre la vérité révélée, connue par quelques initiés, et l'erreur, il n'y avait aucune médiation possible, qui serait une critique même de l'erreur, susceptible d'éclairer la vérité. C'est que les prémisses de la «démonstration» ne sont pas, pour cette pensée, à établir, mais sont posées d'emblée, comme une vérité une et indubitable ([18]). Dès lors, dans la mesure où la seule méthode reconnue, par l'auteur, est celle du monologue impliqué par un tel genre de «démonstration», il s'ensuit que pour que pareille méthode puisse, en l'occurrence, répondre à l'aporie soulevée ci-dessus, elle doit requérir principalement le développement de deux arguments : la *justification* du rejet de toute critique et l'*établissement* de la vérité indubitable qui rend caduque toute critique.

Le premier de ces éléments, nous l'avons dit, se dégage selon deux points de vue différents : le premier est d'ordre logique, le second d'ordre empirique. Le premier de ces points, qui affirme que rien ne

(16) R. W. SMITH, *op. cit.*, pp. 152 ss.

(17) Ce problème n'est pas étranger à la situation de l'éducation au Moyen Age et donc au programme de l'enseignement. Voir en particulier l'étude classique de H. I. MARROU, *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité*, Paris, 1958[4], Part. III, chap. 9 ; ainsi que l'étude de M. L. CLARKE, *Higher Education in the Ancient World*, Londres, 1971, chap. 5-6. Voir aussi l'esquisse que nous avons tracée dans notre étude «Action critique de la philosophie dans le monde ancien», *Annales de l'Institut de Philosophie* (de l'Université Libre de Bruxelles), 1979, pp. 7-19.

(18) Comme nous allons revenir avec plus de détails dans une étude plus spécialement consacrée à ce problème, il nous semble inutile de nous y attarder plus longuement en cet endroit. Voir aussi note 23 ci-dessous.

permet de dire qu'un objet est nécessairement homme parce qu'il n'est pas cheval, ne semble pas mener loin. En effet, comme le notait déjà Aristote dans *Phys.*, I, en prolongeant une idée du *Sophiste* platonicien, le contraire de blanc n'est pas non-blanc, c'est-à-dire n'importe quoi, mais noir ou une autre couleur intermédiaire entre blanc et noir (19). Par là, le Stagirite voulait signifier que ce qui est *autre* que la blanc pouvait avoir deux sens : être n'importe quoi ou appartenir à un même genre comme son espèce. D'où il ressort que s'il est vrai, comme le souligne le Pseudo-Denys, qu'un objet n'est pas nécessairement blanc parce qu'il n'est pas rouge, il n'est pas moins vrai qu'il est possible, au fil des questions et des réponses (c'est-à-dire au moyen d'une dialectique réfutative), de préciser ce qu'il n'est pas, pour dégager, ensuite, ce qu'il est. Car, dire pour un objet qu'il n'est pas rouge, c'est déjà préciser le domaine de signification, c'est-à-dire le situer par rapport aux notions de «qualité» et de «couleur». Mais même si l'on supposait qu'il s'avérait impossible d'indiquer, par cette voie de recherche, ce qu'est l'objet, on peut se demander comment le Pseudo-Denys lui-même, le pourrait démonstrativement. Or, précisément, ni la *Lettre* en question, ni aucun texte de l'auteur ne dit rien à ce propos. Pareil argument ne semble avoir de portée que dans la mesure où il présuppose l'absence de réplique. La précarité de l'argumentation du Pseudo-Denys se confirme avec l'apparition de l'autre point, d'ordre plus empirique, qui soutient qu'il est superflu pour celui qui possède le vrai de discuter, parce que ses interlocuteurs pourraient être de mauvaise foi et ranimer sans cesse le débat. Bien qu'on imagine aisément qu'en pratique le phénomène puisse se produire, on doit reconnaître néanmoins que, théoriquement, pareil argument conduit à une contradiction. En effet, on peut bien se demander comment quelqu'un pourrait douter et rallumer un débat lorsqu'on lui présente sous les yeux la démonstration de la vérité authentique et irréfutable. Tout se passe donc comme si l'exclusion de l'interlocuteur impliquait déjà l'absence de tout adversaire. Mais avant de nous arrêter sur cette importante question, qui semble constituer le *leitmotiv* sous-jacent à ces deux *Lettres*, abordons quelques instants

(19) ARISTOTE, *Phys.*, I, 5, 188a30-b8, qui corrige la conception platonicienne du non-être comme altérité.

le problème de la vérité, qui constitue le second élément retenu ci-dessus.

Il va de soi que pour Denys, comme pour tout chrétien, la vérité première est celle de la révélation. Mais en vertu de ce qui ressort du *Corpus*, cette vérité doit être confirmée par une argumentation philosophique, qui est celle du néoplatonisme chrétien. Sans nous attarder ici sur cette «démonstration», notons que l'essentiel semble viser le rejet du polythéisme philosophique et du pluralisme théologique chrétien : le premier, par le rejet absolu de la pluralité ontologique des causes (20) ; le second, par l'affirmation de la suressentialité absolue de Dieu (21). Du reste, cette dernière affirmation suppose, par définition, le caractère caduc à la fois de la croyance au polythéisme et des discussions théologiques sur la nature de Dieu (22). Or, on le sait, la «démonstration» de cette affirmation s'accomplit selon une démarche essentiellement néoplatonicienne (23), quoique l'auteur tienne à couvrir ses écrits de l'autorité du premier disciple que S. Paul a fait à l'Aréopage athénien, sans doute parce que le personnage a laissé peu d'empreintes historiques. A telle enseigne que ce qui est décrit dans la *Lettre VII*, vise manifestement à produire un renversement des priorités historiques, sinon sur la question du néoplatonisme philosophique, du moins sur celle de l'origine essentielle de la sagesse. En répliquant, en effet, à un certain sophiste dénommé Apollophane, le Pseudo-Denys prétend que les Grecs avaient en fait usurpé la pensée chrétienne et s'en servaient contre elle : «Tu affirmes, dit-il, à Polycarpe, que le Sophiste Apollophane m'injurie et me traite de parricide sous prétexte que j'utilise de façon impie contre les Grecs le bien même des Grecs. Il serait plus vrai de lui répondre que ce sont les Grecs qui retournent de façon impie les armes divines contre les réalités divines, lorsqu'ils essaient de

(20) Voir par exemple. *De Divinis Nominibus*. V, 2, 816C-D.

(21) Que l'on trouve sans cesse affirmée dans le *De Div. Nom.*, le *De Cœl. Hier.*, et même dans les premières *Lettres*. Il s'agit là de nouveau d'un thème que nous comptons aborder de plus près dans une autre étude.

(22) Ce double rejet s'adresse respectivement aux philosophes païens (en particulier à Proclus et ses adeptes) et aux théologiens chrétiens.

(23) En effet, la source possible de pareille méthode «démonstrative» doit être, on s'en doute, Plotin, (cf. *Enn.*, I, 3).

détruire le respect qui est dû à Dieu au nom de cette sagesse même qui vient de Dieu» (24). Tout se passe donc comme si cette étonnante assertion cherchait à dissimuler l'origine et l'écrit qui la véhicule, en réduisant l'origine de toute sagesse (et donc aussi celle du néoplatonisme) à Dieu. Autrement dit, cette affirmation semble viser deux buts : stigmatiser l'impiété des philosophes païens et en même temps faire prévaloir la primauté historique du néoplatonisme chrétien sur le néoplatonisme païen. Pour consolider cette double perspective, l'auteur fait appel, d'une façon magistrale, à un argument historique absolument invérifiable – mais décisif pour le lecteur qui ignore le caractère apocryphe du texte : il renvoie au témoignage même d'Apollophane, à sa présence le jour de la mort du Christ. «Pose-lui cette question, dit-il à Polycarpe : 'que dis-tu de l'éclipse survenue au moment de la mise en croix du Seigneur ?' En ce temps nous étions tous deux à Héliopolis et nous nous trouvions ensemble quand nous vîmes cet étrange phénomène : la lune occultant le soleil sans que le temps fût venu de leur conjonction, puis, de la neuvième heure jusqu'au soir, cette même lune se replaçant merveilleusement en opposition avec le soleil. Rappelle-lui cette autre circonstance encore. Il sait bien que nous vîmes en outre la lune commencer l'occultation du soleil par l'est, s'avancer jusqu'à l'extrémité du soleil, puis revenir sur ses pas, en sorte que l'occultation et le retour de la lumière ne se produisirent pas du même côté, mais aux deux extrémités opposées du disque solaire. Telles sont les merveilles qui se produisirent en cette circonstance et que seul le Christ est capable de produire, lui qui est la Cause universelle et qui accomplit de grands et d'innombrables prodiges. Si tu le peux sans sacrilège, conclut-il, dis-lui tout cela. 'Et quant à toi, Apollophane, si c'est possible, convaincs-moi d'imposture, moi qui me trouvais alors en ta compagnie, qui avec toi-même ai tout vu, tout examiné, tout admiré'. N'oublions pas d'ailleurs qu'Apollophane se mit alors, je ne sais sous quelle inspiration, à vaticiner, me disant, comme s'il interprétait mystérieusement ce prodige : 'Voici, mon cher Denys, qui présage des révolutions divines'» (25). Si nous avons tenu à citer tout ce passage, c'est parce qu'il déploie une

(24) *P.G.*, 1080A.
(25) *Ibid.*, 1080B-1081B. Tr. M. DE GANDILLAC.

rhétorique remarquable, où l'argumentation est enrichie par toute une dramatisation, qui ne peut que toucher le lecteur. Nous retrouvons ici, sans exagération, les meilleurs moments de Platon, ce qui témoigne, indéniablement, du génie de l'auteur (26). Mais en même temps, on découvre un peu abruptement ce que signifie en partie, pour lui, une vérité *irréfutable*. En effet, le témoignage de l'adversaire suffit, en l'occurrence, à rendre caduc tout autre argument. Par là même, ce qui paraissait jusqu'ici comme un sorte d'impression, qui nous faisait dire que tout se passe *comme si* l'exclusion de l'interlocuteur impliquait d'emblée, par le rejet d'une critique possible, l'absence de tout adversaire, cela se trouve confirmé par le texte même de l'auteur. La «vérité» historique rend inutile toute démonstration de la vérité supposée ; elle en garantit la véracité. Du coup la *justification* du rejet de toute critique et l'*établissement* d'une vérité indubitable se rejoignent comme la conséquence même de la «vérité» historique, pour fonder la priorité historique et ontologique du christianisme, et, dans son sillage, du néoplatonisme chrétien (dionysien) par rapport au paganisme. Aussi longtemps qu'on ne s'applique pas à montrer la fausseté du témoignage ou l'*imposture*, l'argument est sans réplique. C'est pourquoi on peut dire que le soi-disant témoignage d'Apollophane se manifeste en même temps comme le critère de référence qui peut garantir l'«authenticité» du *Corpus* et la «vérité» de son contenu. Car, une fois cette constatation fixée, la coïncidence entre l'absence de critique dans le reste de l'œuvre de l'auteur et l'établissement de la vérité théologique et philosophique fait que le discours n'affronte plus d'obstacle sérieux : tout peut être sans cesse rapporté à cette prémisse première, qui suffit à suppléer tout manque, même aux insuffisances et difficultés que nous avons relevées ci-dessus. En définitive, il apparaît que le caractère apocryphe des textes devient le lieu où l'idée de critique s'anéantit. Ajoutée à cela la thèse se rapportant au caractère indicible, impensable et suressentiel de Dieu, tout dialogue, même à l'intérieur du christinaisme, s'avère d'emblée inutile. Le recours, d'une part, à un argument profondément lié à la

(26) L'assertion «et quant à toi, Apollophane, si c'est possible, convaincs-moi d'imposture ...» (voir la référence dans la note précédente), nous semble significative de la capacité de dissimulation de l'auteur. Il s'agit d'ailleurs là d'un élément intéressant pour une éventuelle analyse psychanalytique du texte.

psychologie *humaine* (le témoignage) et, d'autre part, à un argument qui révèle le *divin* par l'affirmation des limites absolues de la raison humaine (27), subordonne la raison à la foi, et assure à cette pensée un élément sécurisant, qui explique en partie son influence extraordinaire à partir du VIIe siècle. D'autant plus qu'en justifiant également le rejet de toute critique par la nécessité d'éviter toute polémique, l'auteur s'accorde pleinement avec la politique de l'État byzantin depuis l'*hénotikon*, qui va aboutir, d'une part, à un *consensus* parmi les chrétiens et, d'autre part, à l'affaiblissement du néoplatonisme païen avec la fermeture de l'École d'Athènes (28). C'est pourquoi cet accord troublant – qui explique peut-être l'absence de toute réaction sérieuse à l'égard du *Corpus* (29) – demande une recherche plus approfondie du contexte socio-politique dans la période qui s'étend de la promulgation de l'*hénotikon* jusqu'à la fermeture de l'École d'Athènes, qui pourrait éclairer à la fois la raison d'être du *Corpus dionysiacum* et le moment de son apparition.

Université Libre de Bruxelles. Lambros COULOUBARITSIS.

(27) Cf. *Lettres I-V*.

(28) Sur cette question, voir Alan CAMERON, «The Last Days of the Academy at Athens», *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*, 195, 1969, pp. 7-29 ; «La fin de l'Académie», dans *Le Néoplatonisme* (Colloques Internationaux du C.N.R.S., Royaumont, 9-13 juin 1969), Paris, 1971, pp. 281-290 ; A. FRANTZ, «Pagan Philosophers in Christian Athens», *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 119, 1975, pp. 29-38 ; ainsi que la récente mise au point de Ilsetraut HADOT, *Le problème du néoplatonisme alexandrin. Hiéroclès et Simplicius*, Paris, 1978, pp. 20-32.

(29) A l'exception, on le sait, de celle du moine Hypatius, au Colloque de Constantinople de 533.

TWO EARLY BYZANTINE EARTHQUAKES AND THEIR LITURGICAL COMMEMORATION

It was the widespread belief of Graeco-Roman antiquity, stated specifically by Aristotle and Seneca, that earthquakes were caused by movements of air in underground caverns (1). These subterranean winds entered the earth both through openings in the earth's crust and, more frequently, by way of an undersea passage, which meant that the regions most prone to earthquakes were those nearest the sea. Hence, Poseidon (Neptune) the god of the sea was also the god of earthquakes – the Homeric 'Earthshaker' (*'Εννοσίγαιος*) (2). Although rationally explained this shaking of the earth was interpreted as a divine signal, usually a punishment for misdemeanour. Apollonius of Tyana, for example, reminded the feuding Antiochenes that the earthquake they had experienced was a divine admonition (3) and Libanius offered the Antiochenes the same advice two centuries later (4).

In the fourth and as late as the sixth century A.D. earthquakes were still interpreted in the traditional way though both Ammianus Marcellinus and Agathias (5) expressed dissatisfaction with the Aristotelian explanation. Agathias, who actually lived through quakes at both Alexandria (551) and Constantinople (554, 557) recounts the story of Anthemius of Tralles the celebrated master-builder of Hagia Sophia : Anthemius' neighbour Zeno was a clever rhetorician but an inconsiderate character who aggravated Anthemius by his sheer nosiness and probably for other neighbourly

(1) ARISTOTLE, *Metrologica*, ii.8 ; SENECA, *Quaest. Nat* , vi.21-23 and for further details on the causes of ancient earthquakes : W. CAPELLE, 'Erdbebenforschung', *RE*. Suppl. IV.362-374.

(2) SENECA, *Quaest. Nat.*, vi.23 . HERODOTUS, vii.12.9.

(3) PHILOSTRATUS, *vita Apoll.*, vi.38.

(4) *Or.*, i.134 . *ἐδόκει γὰρ ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς μεγάλοις πάθεσι μέγα σημαίνειν.*

(5) AMMIANUS, xvii.7.9-14 ; AGATHIAS, ii.15.

reasons as well. To get back at him, Anthemius hit upon the idea of putting his native mechanical ingenuity to work. In his own house, directly beneath the salon of Zeno, Anthemius arranged two enormous cauldrons filled with water and attached to each a leather covering which tapered off into the shape of a pipe. These he attached to the rafters. When the cauldrons were heated steam gushed out of the makeshift pipes and exerted strong pressure on the ceiling so that it began to shake and bulge. Feeling the floor trembling Zeno and his friends thought there was an earthquake and raced into the streets terrified, only to be puzzled that nobody else would believe they had experienced an earthquake (6). Anthemius had his revenge.

The point of Agathias' story, however, is to state his own scepticism of the Aristotelian theory of earthquakes ; yet, neither here nor in describing the tremors at Alexandria does he offer an alternative explanation of his own (7).

Instead, he is content to remark that the causes of earthquakes lay hidden in the divine mind (8). For the Christian Agathias such unpredictable events as earthquakes could never be explained in natural terms. There was simply no point in investigating their origin. They were merely the will of God and that is all there was to it. This too is precisely how the outbreak of plague in 542 was accounted for by Procopius (9).

Thus, in Constantinople in the time of Agathias the God of the Christians had replaced Poseidon as the 'Earthshaker'. Furthermore, for such manifestations of divine ire the Byzantines even invented a word – *θεομηνία* – which first occurs in Sozomen (*HE*, ii.4.4.) and is very common in the chronicles. Philostorgius, for example, explains that earthquakes are not caused by winds or water under the earth's crust but by the will of God for turning sinners to repentance (10)

(6) v.6.7-7.5.

(7) v.7-8 with Averil CAMERON, *Agathias* (Oxford, 1970), 91.

(8) ii.15.12. For Agathias' attitudes to scientific thought and contemporary discussion of the causes of earthquakes : CAMERON, *Agathias*, 113-114 to which add John LYDUS, *de ostentis*, 54-55 (ultimately caused by divine *πρόνοια*).

(9) *Wars*, ii.22.2.

(10) *HE*, xii.10, cf. SOZOMEN, *HE*, vi.2, iv.11, iv.16 ; Theodore ANAGNOSTES, *HE*, ii.26. Note also the quakes in 363 recorded by SOCRATES (*HE*, iii.20), SOZOMEN (*HE*, v.22), and PHILOSTORGUS (*HE*, vii.9).

and this notion is echoed most clearly in the hymn of Romanos Melodos 'On Earthquakes and Fires' (11). If quakes were to be interpreted in this fashion then we should expect to find an overtly penitent population doing all in its power to stem the wrath of the Almighty. Such behaviour is in fact frequently attested. For example, following an earthquake at Constantinople (probably in 396) we hear of the emperor Arcadius and the people praying in unison for divine mercy (12).

At the same time, the natural repository of divine grace and favour, the ascetic holy man, came to play an important role as the best pacifier of divine wrath although both Arcadius and his son Theodosius II were conspicuously unsuccessful in this regard. During the quake at Constantinople in 407 Arcadius sought the prayers of St. Nilus of Ancyra but Nilus replied by asking the emperor how he could expect to be obliged while he still tolerated the exile of John Chrysostom (13). When the holy man Dalmatius finally entered Constantinople after almost half a century in his cell Theodosius II was prompted to inquire how it was that he could never get Dalmatius to come and pray with the people of Constantinople when he was most needed, that is during earthquakes (14).

In describing the reaction of the Byzantines to the quake of December 14, 557 Agathias noticed how they turned to prayer and propitiation ; some exchanged their lives of vice for virtue, others renounced their wealth and still others distributed gifts of food and blankets to the poor victims of the disaster. Such spontaneous

(11) *Cant.*, 54 (Maas-Trypanis, 462-471), Strophe 13 : *σείει γὰρ τὴν κτίσιν καὶ ποιεῖ βρύχειν τὴν γῆν / ἐκ τῶν ἁρματῶν ἡμῶν* (467).

(12) Orosius, iii.3 2.

(13 *Ep.*, ii 265 (*PG*, 79.336). *πῶς ἐπιθυμεῖς τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν τῶν πυκνοτάτων σεισμῶν ... ἀπηλλαγμένην ἰδεῖν .. ἐξορισθέντος τοῦ στύλου τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, τοῦ φωτὸς τῆς ἀληθείας, τῆς σαλπίγγος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, Ἰωάννου τοῦ μακαριωτάτου ἐπισκόπου.* This is one of the few genuine letters of Nilus : Alan Cameron, 'The Authenticity of the Letters of Nilus of Ancyra', *GRBS*, 17 (1976), 187

(14) *Acta Dalmatii*, i.13 (AA SS. August t. I, 221) : *'Miratusque imperator haec ait : Licet saepe ipsum in cella eius convenerim, cum terraemotus essent, rogaverimque eum, ut exiret, atque ad communem supplicationem se conferret, numquam potui adduci'.*

behaviour struck Agathias as quite dramatic but he shrewdly noticed that once the danger had passed and the impact of the disaster dimmed they lapsed into their former evil habits ([15]). Not everyone, however, forgot or was allowed to forget the significance of this divine sign, for the church made sure that such manifestations of God's wrath were drawn to the attention of the faithful at least once a year. Every year thereafter, on December 14, the day the quake had originally struck, it was remembered in Constantinople. By 557 similar services of commemoration were already being held each year on January 26, September 25 and October 7 to recall previous earthquakes the city had experienced. So too, each major quake to hit the imperial capital in subsequent times was commemorated every year in the city's liturgical calendar. Constantinople, however, was not the only place where processions were held annually in memory of prior earthquakes. Sozomen reports that each year the Alexandrians recalled the great quake and tidal wave of 365 in solemn and pompous ceremonial – 'to thank God for their deliverance' ([16]).

By the tenth century there were seven days set aside every year for processions and services to remind the Byzantines of their previous deliverance from earthquakes. The dates and detailed descriptions of these quakes are to be found in the ecclesiastical calendars of Constantinople – the *Synaxarium* of Hagia Sophia and the *Menologion* of Basil II ([17]); while descriptions of the annual liturgy and the course of the commemorative processions are contained in the *Typicon* of Hagia Sophia ([18]). Moreover, it was the processions themselves which became important whereas the original earthquakes they actually commemorated became uncertain, conflated and over-simplified ([19]). Details of one earthquake

(15) v.5.4-5.

(16) *HE*, vi.2.

(17) *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* (hereafter *SEC*) ed. H DELEHAYE in AA SS. Propylaeum Novembris (Brussels, 1902); *Il Menologio di Basilio II (Cod. Vat. Gr 1613)* (Turin, 1907).

(18) *Typicon de la Grande Église* (hereafter *Typ.*) ed. J. MATEOS, 2 vols. (Rome, 1962-3).

(19) The annual liturgies were on : January 9 (the quake of 869) : *SEC*, 380.19-23, *Typ.*, I.212.1-21 ; January 26 (that of 447) : *SEC*, 425.1-17, *Typ.*, I.212.1-2 ; March 17 (between 780 and 797) : *SEC*, 544 27-31, *Typ.*, I.248.25-27 ; August'16

were attributed to another, dates were confused and so on. This is precisely the process of contamination we find in the Byzantine chronicles.

Two of the earthquakes the Byzantines celebrated annually – those on September 25 and January 26 – became hopelessly confused and conflated not least of all because they had occurred so close together in the mid-fifth century. It is the primary purpose of this exposition to disentangle the conflated and contradictory accounts of these two quakes. The net again, however, is not only the solution to a baffling chronological problem, but we also get to see a little glimpsed, and even less commented on, facet of the imperial court's role in the public ceremonial of the capital.

I

By far the longest account of earthquakes late in the reign of Theodosius II is contained in the fourteenth century *Ecclesiastical History* of Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos, but it gains its length only by totally fusing two quakes which had occurred so close to each other that almost a millennium later they were indistinguishable (20). This prompts the enquiry : in which years did these quakes, now all rolled into one, occur ? The standard earthquake catalogues list three (21) :

(that of 542) : *SEC*, 904.28-32, *Typ.*, I.372.13-374-26 . September 25 (that of 438) : *SEC*, 79.18-80.21, *Typ.*, I.44-24-48.18 ; October 7 (that of 525) : *SEC*, 116.45-117.3, *Typ.*, I.62.10-64.8 ; October 26 (that of 740) : *SEC*, 166.31-44, *Typ.*, I.78.18-80.14 ; December 14 (that of 557) : *SEC*, 308.29-32, *Typ.*, I.130.13-24. Note also that according to THEOPHANES (de Boor, 229.13) the quake of 554 was celebrated annually at the Hebdomon but since this is not recorded in the liturgical calendars perhaps he is confusing it with the quake of 557. On the processions in general see R. JANIN, 'Les processions religieuses à Byzance', in *REB*, 24 (1966), 69-88.

(20) *HE*, xiv.46 (*PG*, 146.1216-17, 1220-21). On the sources of this passage see F. WINKELMANN, *Die Kirchengeschichte des Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopulus und ihre Quellen* (Berlin, 1966), 138-139.

(21) G. DOWNEY, 'Earthquakes at Constantinople and Vicinity, A.D. 324-1454', *Speculum*, 30 (1955), 596-600 ; V. GRUMEL, *La Chronologie* (*Traité d'études byzantines*, I), Paris, 1958 ; W. CAPELLE, 'Erdbebenforschung', in *RE*, Suppl. IV.347 ; J DUCK, 'Die Erdbeben von Konstantinopel', in *Die Erdbebenwärte*, 3 (1904), 121-139 and O. SEECK, *Regesten der Kaiser und Päpste* (Stuttgart,

437 : Downey, 597 ; Grumel, 477.
447 : Downey, 597 ; Grumel, 477 ; Capelle, 347 ; Dück, 125 ; Seeck, 379.
450 : Downey, 597 ; Grumel, 477 ; Capelle, 347 ; Duck, 125 ; Seeck, 385.

In the liturgical calendars of Constantinople the quake remembered on September 25 recalled the occasion, although the year is not specified, which gave rise to the orthodox hymn, the *Trisagion* (22). The source closest to this event, the *Bazaar of Heracleides* written by the exiled Patriarch of Constantinople Nestorius (d. 451), reports that in order to demonstrate 'that he who was doing these things was immortal and had authority over them' God shook the earth until his people adopted the Trisagion prayer (23). Next, in a letter of Pope Felix III (483-492) to the monophysite patriarch of Antioch, Peter, the Pope explains that during a recent quake at Constantinople the patriarch Proclus led the people out of the city to the Hebdomon to petition the Lord for deliverance from his wrath. There a young boy was miraculously lifted on high where for an hour he heard the heavenly hosts intoning the prayer 'Holy God, Holy Mighty One, Holy Immortal One, have mercy on us' and he was told to instruct the people of Constantinople assembled at the Hebdomon to chant this very refrain. This they did and the tremors immediately subsided. Everyone returned to the city with the anger of the Almighty allayed (24). In this letter Felix is trying to point out to his antagonist Peter that this chant actually had divine approval and it was a powerful argument which prevailed widely at Constantinople (25). This account of the origin of the Trisagion was repeated in identical terms by the Byzantine chronicle tradition, first

1919). There is also, for quakes with tidal waves, N. Ambraseys, 'Data for the Investigation of the Seismic Sea-Waves in the Eastern Mediterranean', in *Bull. of the Seismological Society of America*, 52 (1962), 895-913. All these lists are invariably dependent on previous ones. A more critical analysis of the sources would provide the basis for a more accurate catalogue.

(22) *SEC*, 79.18-80.14, *Typ.*, I.44.24-48.18.

(23) Tr. G. Driver and L. Hodgson (Oxford, 1925), 364.

(24) *Ep.*, iii (PL, 58.909-910).

(25) On the Trisagion's theological context : M. Solovy, *The Byzantine Divine Liturgy* (tr. D. Wysochansky), Washington D.C. (1970), 185-187 and J. Hanssens, *Institutiones liturgicae de ritibus orientalibus*, iii.2 (Rome, 1922), 110-119.

of all and most completely by Theophanes (26), and depicted in the *Menologion* of Basil II (27).

In time, however, the Trisagion story gained new elements. Not only were the details of the earthquake itself confused with that of a decade later but the incident of the child being raised in the air also acquired a new twist. By the tenth century, at least as we find it in the *Synaxarium* and the *Menologion*, it was described as follows : as a result of an earthquake one September 25, the faithful were praying for deliverance with the verse 'Holy God, Holy Mighty One, Holy Immortal One, who was crucified for us, have mercy on us'. Then a child was miraculously raised aloft and heard the angels intoning the same prayer without the additional 'who was crucified for us'. When the child told this to the pious crowd the earthquake ceased and the child fell dead. This version is totally incredible in that it presumes the Trisagion was already a part of the liturgy before 438. Furthermore, the controversial 'who was crucified for us' was only added later in the century. We must therefore give prior consideration to the different but more authentic accounts of Nestorius, Felix and Theophanes (copying Theodore Anagnostes).

Neither the letter of Felix nor Theophanes nor the liturgical calendars mention that any physical damage or loss of life was incurred as a result of these tremors. The lack of damage is confirmed by an obscure passage of the *Bazaar of Heracleides* where, with reference to tremors, Nestorius points out that God merely wished to sound a note of warning to his people, not harm them :

> '... though (the wall) had not suffered any (injury) from the things whereby it had been shaken... While there was not even a single indication in them of the earthquake and even (in some) of the places in the midst of the walls the stones had started out of the whole building and from parts adjoining the building ; even the lime had been shaken out' (28).

(26) A. M. 5930 (de Boor, 93 5-10).

(27) *Il Menologio di Basilio II*, ii.65.

(28) 364 (Driver-Hodgson). The chronology of this whole section is extremely problematical but Nestorius at least differentiates between the quake involving the Trisagion (364) and that involving the Huns (367) even if he does confuse the details in other respects.

The earliest description of damage and subsequent restoration as a consequence of the tremors remembered on September 25 in connection with the Trisagion appears only in the later and far less reliable (and conflated) notices of the *Patria* of Constantinople (29), George the Monk (30), Glycas (31), the verse chronicle of Constantine Manasses (32) and the history of Nikephoros Kallistos (33). Taken together, the sources closest to the event agree that the tremors (for that is what they must have been) continued on and off for three or four months and were by no means destructive. Only the *later* sources mention the collapse of the Theodosian walls of Constantinople at this time but, as will become apparent below, these sources have merely conflated these tremors with the later, more destructive, quake of 447, attributing the effects of the latter to the former. No chronicler prior to Theophanes mentions the earthquake, or rather the tremors, associated with the reception of the Trisagion.

Theophanes, whose date we are obliged to follow, placed the Trisagion story under (but not in) the Year of the World 5930, the 29th year of Theodosius II, that is in A.D. 437. This, it will be noticed, is therefore the year under which it appears in the standard earthquake catalogues. However, Theophanes locates it after the reception of the relics of John Chrysostom into Constantinople which took place on January 28, 438 and not in 437 (34). Furthermore, he does not say that the tremors actually occurred in the year under which he placed them but more vaguely 'in the patriarchate of Proclus' (*ἐπὶ τοῦτο τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις Πρόκλου*), that is between April 434 and July 446. How can we decide, therefore, in which year of Proclus' patriarchate these events took place ?

The account of Theophanes goes back, so it is reasonably assumed, to the *Ecclesiastical History* of Theodore Anagnostes

(29) *Patria*, I.72-73 (ed. T. PREGER, *Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitanarum*, 150) on which see P. SPECK, 'Der Mauerbau in 60 Tagen', in H. BECK (ed.), *Studien zur Frühgeschichte Konstantinopels* (Munich, 1973) (hereafter *Studien*), 137-138.

(30) 604.16 (de Boor).

(31) 483.5 (Bonn).

(32) Vv. 2746-2753 (Bonn).

(33) *HE*, xiv 46 (*PG*, 146.1216-17, 1220-21).

(34) MARCELLINUS, 438.2 (*MGH*, AA., XI, 79).

written in the time of Justinian ([35]). Another version of the Trisagion story which is also presumed to be derived from the history of Theodore is that contained in the *Patria* of Constantinople ([36]). This account dates the event 'in the fifth year of Theodosius' which is clearly wrong although Downey lists it as a separate quake under 412 ([37]). Since both Theophanes and the *Patria* are describing the same events and, in addition, following the same source, then it may well be that Theodore originally dated the Trisagion story 'in the fifth year of Proclus', not Theodosius. This was the observation of Schneider ([38]) and it makes good sense in the light of the consistently erratic chronology of Theophanes. The date is therefore between April 438 and April 439.

It is possible to discover the exact date of the Trisagion episode at the Hebdomon from the fact that it was celebrated each year on the very day it had originally taken place, that is September 25. On that day every year after an *orthros* at Hagia Sophia a procession would lead to the Forum of Constantine to the accompaniment of the Trisagion. A *Gloria Patri* was said at the forum and the procession would then continue, still chanting the Trisagion, along the Mese to the Golden Gate, thence to the Hebdomon where mass was celebrated in the church of St. John the Apostle ([39]). It was at the Hebdomon, therefore, that the Trisagion was first handed down from heaven, or so the Byzantines believed, on September 25, 438.

Before long, well within a century, confusions and conflations surrounding the fifth century earthquakes began to creep into Byzantine chronicles. Take the example of Marcellinus, normally a very reliable guide to events recorded in the *fasti* of Constantinople, his chief source ([40]). Under the year 480 he records an earthquake at Constantinople in which the statue on the column of Theodosius II

(35) G. HANSEN, *Theodorus Anagnostes Kirchengeschichte* (GCS, 54), Berlin (1971), XXIX.

(36) N. 29 above with HANSEN, *Theodorus Anagnostes*, XXX.

(37) *Speculum* (1955), 597.

(38) In B. MEYER-PLATH and A. SCHNEIDER, *Die Landmauer von Konstantinopel*, II (Denkmaler antiker Architektur, 8), Berlin (1943), 4 and n. 2

(39) *Typ.*, I.44.24-48.14.

(40) For which see O. HOLDER-EGGER, 'Die Chronik des Marcellinus Comes und die ostromischen Fasten', in *Neues Archiv*, 2 (1877), 4-109.

in the Forum Tauri was toppled. This quake, he says, was celebrated annually on September 24 – *hunc formidolosum diem Byzantii celebrant VIII kal. Octobris* (41). As it turns out, the earthquake he is describing occurred in 478, not 480 (42) and on September 25 (the same day as the tremors of 438) not September 24, although 'viii, for "vii could easily be an error of transmission. Furthermore, the quake of 478 was never commemorated annually at Constantinople. What the *Byzantii* did celebrate each year on September 25 was the memory of the origin of the Trisagion in 438. If a normally careful compiler of the sixth century could be so confused about the different fifth century earthquakes there was little hope for the less careful Byzantine chroniclers of a much later date. Small wonder too that modern scholars have been equally misled (43).

II

From his place of exile in Upper Egypt Nestorius kept in touch with events in Constantinople. He informs us that after the tremors of 438 and the successful petition of Proclus the Byzantines, as Agathias observed happening in 557, soon fell back into their impious ways. So God was forced to punish them more severely for neglecting his warning and visited upon them a few years after 438 a disastrous earthquake (44). This occurred in 447 the year under which it appears in the *Chronicle* of Marcellinus our fullest source

(41) MARCELLINUS, 490.1 (*MGH*. AA., XI, 92).

(42) E. STEIN, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, ii (Brussels, 1949), 787.

(43) A recent example is G. DAGRON, *Naissance d'une Capitale* (Paris, 1974) who, following Schneider, considers that the quake of 447 extended from November of that year to January 448 (112, 192, n. 1, 357, n. 1, cf. 103, n. 2) and cites as evidence for it Theophanes (de Boor, 125) 'qui donne la date du 26 janvier, mais place l'événement sous Zénon' (112, n. 1) In fact Theophanes gives the date 'September 25' not 'January 26' and the quake he is describing (25-9-478) is placed in the reign of Zeno because that is when it occurred.

Following the mistake of JANIN (*Constantinople Byzantine*[2] (Paris, 1964), 93) Dagron explains the rebuilding by Antiochus of the Troad porticoes in 448 as the result of an earthquake (272). Our only source states explicitly that they were destroyed in a fire not connected with any earthquake (MARCELLINUS, 448.2 (*MGH*. AA., XI.83)).

(44) 364 (Driver-Hodgson).

for the events of that year. This time, unlike the quake of 478, his information is more accurate. He reports :

447.1 *Ingenti terrae motu per loca varia imminente plurimi urbis augustae muri recenti adhuc reaedificatione constructi cum quinquaginta septem turribus corruerunt, saxa quoque ingentia foro Tauri dudum sese in aedificio posita statuaeque plurimae sine ullius videlicet laesione conlapsae sunt, plurimis nihilominus civitatibus conlapsis : fames et aerum pestifer odor multa milia hominum iumentorumque delevit.*

447.3 *Eodem anno urbis augustae muri olim terrae motu conlapsi intra menses tres Constantino praefecto praetorio operam dante reaedificati sunt* (45).

Three key facts emerge from this account : (1) the walls of Constantinople had only recently been constructed in a 'reaedificatio' ; (2) famine and plague broke out after the quake, and (3) the walls were rebuilt within three months by the Praetorian Prefect, Constantine, and this period fell within 447 ('eodem anno').

Before attempting to verify these three points in the entries of Marcellinus, it is necessary to establish the one essential fact he overlooks – the exact date. The *Synaxarium* of Constantinople's 'Great Church' records that on January 26 each year was celebrated the memory of an earthquake which had occurred toward the end of the reign of Theodosius II, at the second hour on a Sunday : *τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ μνήμην ἐπιτελοῦμεν τῆς μετὰ φιλανθρωπίας ἐπενεχθείσης ἡμῖν φοβερᾶς ἀπειλῆς τοῦ σεισμοῦ, ἧς παρ' ἐλπίδα ἐρρύσατο ἡμᾶς ὁ Κύριος, γενομένου εἰς τὰ τελευταῖα τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ νέου Θεοδοσίου ..., μηνὶ ἰανουαρίῳ εἰκοστῇ ἕκτῃ, ἡμέρᾳ κυριακῇ, ὥρα δευτέρᾳ τῆς ἡμέρας · ἐν ᾗ κατέπεσον τὰ τείχη τῆς πόλεως καὶ μέρος πολὺ τῶν οἰκημάτων, κατεξαίρετον δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν Τρωαδησίων ἐμβόλων ἕως τοῦ χαλκοῦ Τετραπύλου. καὶ ἐπεκράτει ὁ σεισμὸς ἐπὶ μῆνας τρεῖς · ἔνθα ὁ βασιλεὺς λιτανεύων πανδημεὶ μετὰ δακρύων ἔλεγε · « Ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς, Κύριε, τῆς δικαίας ὀργῆς καὶ τῶν παραπτωμάτων ἡμῶν διὰ τῆς μετανοίας... »* (46).

John Malalas (a sixth century Antiochene chronicler) mentions that the first great quake to strike Constantinople was in the reign of

(45) *MGH.*, AA., XI, 82. In general, see the excellent article by P. Speck, *Studien*, 135-177, 227

(46) *SEC*, 425.1-10.

Theodosius II on a January 26 : *Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας ἔπαθεν ὑπὸ θεομηνίας πρώτοις Κωνσταντινούπολις ὑπὸ σεισμοῦ μηνὶ ἰανουαρίῳ κς' ἐν νυκτὶ ἀπὸ τῶν λεγομένων Τρωαδησίων ἐμβόλων ἕως τοῦ χαλκοῦ τετραπύλου. ὅστις βασιλεὺς ἐλιτάνευσε μετὰ τῆς συγκλήτου καὶ τοῦ ὄχλου καὶ τοῦ κλήρου ἀνυπόδητος ἐπὶ ἡμέρας πολλάς* (47).

Both the Synaxarium and Malalas agree on the date – January 26, to which the former adds that the quake occurred on a Sunday. The only time late in the reign of Theodosius II when January 26 fell on a Sunday was in 447 (48). That must be the exact date, the year under which it is recorded by Marcellinus. To judge from the verbal correspondences between these passages of the Synaxarium and Malalas there is clearly a relationship between them. This does not mean, however, that Malalas employed a specifically liturgical calendar in his chronicle ; nor that in compiling the Synaxarium the author used a local chronicle for his account of the quake. It probably means, instead, that originally the details of the quake were incorporated into what is often called the 'Stadtchronik' of Constantinople and were copied from there by Malalas and the *Chronicon Paschale* (49) and into the earliest liturgical calendars and was simply copied from one calendar to the next as the number of events celebrated in this fashion increased, thus necessitating the updating of the calendars. Both the Synaxarium and Malalas reflect the same official version contained, from the earliest, in two distinct sources. The text of Malalas, as we have it, is an abbreviated version (at least in the latter part) of the original, which probably contained an even fuller account of the quake than we find in the *Synaxarium*.

To return to Marcellinus' entries beginning with his third point, the rebuilding of the walls of Constantinople by the Praetorian Prefect, Constantine. The statement that the reconstruction was completed within three (actually two) months is well substantiated although some later sources ascribed the rebuilding 'in 60 days' to Cyrus of Panopolis (50). Three imposing epigrams and two other

(47) 363.20-364.2 (Bonn).

(48) Calculated from Grumel, *Chronologie*, 316.

(49) For the relationship of Malalas and the *Chronicon Paschale* to a common Constantinopolitan city chronicle' see A. FREUND, *Beiträge zur antiochenischen und zur constantinopolitanischen Stadtchronik* (Diss. Jena, 1888).

(50) E g LEO GRAMM . 108 24-109.3 (Bonn) , ZONARAS, III, 106.11-19 (Bonn) and NIKEPHOROS KALLISTOS, *HE*, xiv.46 (*PG*, 146 1220). A recent attempt to

fragments attest to the feat of Constantine. They were not, it seems, placed at random along the walls but on the towers of the great gateways where they would be most prominent. The extant inscriptions are to be found on three adjacent gates: the Mevlevihane Kapi (51), the Silivri Kapi (52) and the Belgrad Kapi (53). In addition there is an unpublished fragment but its former location is not known (54). The survival of these inscriptions could be explained as an accident of archaeology and that many other similar inscriptions were originally placed on the walls but have now perished. Indeed in the nineteenth century there was apparently one on the new sea walls which cannot now be found (55).

enlarge on the building activity of Cyrus is to be treated with caution · D. CONSTANTELOS, 'Cyrus Panopolites. Rebuilder of Constantinople', in *GRBS*, 12 (1971), 451-464 who attributes (452) the most destructive earthquake to 437 (*leg.*, 438), not 447, on the basis of Theophanes (who mentions no damage), Glycas, George the Monk and Nikephoros Kallistos (all three of whom are later and conflate the quakes of 438 and 447). Constantelos' explanation is the exact reverse of the truth: 'A confusion occurred because the sources confused the disasters of 447 with those of 437. In particular Comes Marcellinus and the Chronicon Paschale wrongly attributed the major destruction of Constantinople to the earthquake of 447' (461). Cf SPECK, *Studien*, 150. Elsewhere Constantelos offers a curious reference for the extension of the sea walls in 439: 'Count Marcellinus, 15.7 ed. Th. MOMMSEN, *Chronica Minora*, II (Berlin, 1894), 80. *ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει κτλ.* (453, n. 10) Evidently Constantelos took the text of the *Chronicon Paschale* (printed by Mommsen alongside Marcellinus to illustrate the fundamental relationship between them) of the *MGH*., AA. edition as part of the text of Marcellinus' chronicle

(51) *CIL*, iii.734: *Theodosii iussis gemino nec mense peracto / Constantinus ovans haec moenia firma locavit: / tam cito tam stabilem Pallas vix conderet arcem.* and *Anth. Pal.*, ix.690: *Θεοδόσιος τόδε τεῖχος ἄναξ, καὶ ὕπαρχος Ἐῶας / Κωνσταντῖνος ἔτευξαν ἐν ἥμασιν ἑξήκοντα.*

(52) SCHNEIDER, *Landmauer*, 130 (No. 23c). For the improved reading: SPECK, *Studien*, 161- *]σι Κωνστ[.*

(53) *Anth. Pal.*, ix. 391: *Ἥμασιν ἑξήκοντα φιλοσκήπτρῳ βασιλῆϊ / Κωνσταντῖνος ὕπαρχος ἐδείματο τειχεῖ τεῖχος.*

(54) An unpublished inscription now in the Archaeological Museum at Istanbul, fond in 1960, provenance unknown:

Θευδοσ[
καὶ τα[
Κωνσταγ[
επιδ[

(SPECK, *Studien*, 160, n. 43).

(55) Referred to by A. VAN MILLIGEN, *Byzantine Constantinople: The Walls of the City and Adjoining Historical Sites* (London, 1899), 180

However, it is also possible, though this can only remain a speculation, that these adjacent gateways represent a concentration of the destruction and rebuilding in 447 and that possibly only a few towers had to be completely reconstructed and that these few alone bore the celebratory epigrams. Marcellinus tells us that only fifty-seven towers of the city walls were destroyed in the quake, that is slightly more than half the towers of the inner walls of Theodosius, if that is what Marcellinus means. The point is that not all the towers needed to be rebuilt and that the damage seems, to judge from the distribution of the inscriptions, to have been most severe in the southern part of the walls between (say) the Sea of Marmara and the Pempton gate. However, it must have needed patching up in other parts as well.

Marcellinus' language is not particularly clear when describing the effects of the quake of 447 but one thing is clear – not only were the land walls affected but the sea walls as well. This can be deduced from his comment that *(plurimi) muri recenti adhuc reaedificatione constructi* fell. It could, of course, be argued that *reaedificatio* means strictly 'rebuilding' and that Marcellinus is simply suggesting that the land walls were in fact seriously damaged in the tremors of 438 and required rebuilding. Yet the descriptions we have of these tremors, especially that of Nestorius quoted above, preclude the sort of damage that would necessitate complete rebuilding, although they needed some reinforcement here and there. Furthermore, it seems odd to refer to the land walls alone as *plurimi* and to their construction as 'still recent'. What was built in a recent "reconstruction" of Constantinople's fortifications, however, was the extension of the sea walls on both sides from the old walls of Constantine to the land wall of Theodosius in 439 (56). We should, therefore, interpret Marcellinus' phrase to mean that in 447 not only were the land walls rebuilt but the sea walls as well.

In any case, there is no doubt that the new sea walls *were* rebuilt after the quake in 447. It is recorded in the *Patria* of Constantinople that Constantine's remarkably prompt reconstruction of the sea wall extended on one side from Rabdos to the area of the Golden Gate and on the other from τὰ Ἀρματίου to Blachernae, that is precisely

(56) *Chron. Pasch.*, 583.3-4 (Bonn).

the area between the walls of Constantine and Theodosius, the very sea walls constructed in 439 (57). The *Patria* also record that Constantine's feat was only accomplished with the aid of the Blues and Greens (58). In rebuilding the land walls the Blues began at Blachernae, the Greens at the Golden Gate and they both met at the Polyandron Gate where an inscription proclaims that Constantine built 'wall to wall' (τείχεϊ τεῖχος) (59). This phrase surely refers to the manner of the rebuilding process, rather than the construction of the outer wall in 447 as is so often assumed (60).

Besides the land and sea walls other parts of the city were seriously affected by the quake. We learn from the *Synaxarium* (but likewise from Malalas and the *Chronicon Paschale*) that the main area affected was that from the Troad porticoes which lined the Mese near the wall of Constantine as far as the bronze Tetrapylon near the Forum Tauri (61). Marcellinus and the *Bazaar of Heracleides* indicate severe destruction in the Forum Tauri as well (62).

The forum, also known as the Forum of Theodosius, contained a large spiral column with a statue of Theodosius I on top (63). It was

(57) *Patria*, I.73 (Preger, 150) – thereby enclosing the area known as *Εὐδοκόπολις*. *Oracle of Baalbek*, I.92 (ed. P. ALEXANDER (Washington D.C., 1967), 14, with commentary, 80-82)

(58) *Patria*, II.58 (Preger, 182) – not just the 'factions' but much of the rest of the population as well (A. CAMERON, *Circus Factions*, Oxford, 1976, 111). There is no good reason to reject outright the veracity of this account as do DAGRON, *Naissance*, 356-7 and SPECK, *Studien*, 138

(59) *Anth. Pal.*, ix.691.

(60) For this particular interpretation : T. PREGER, 'Studien zur Topographie Konstantinopels I', in *BZ*, 14 (1905), 274 and SPECK, *Studien*, 161, n. 44.

(61) *SEC*, 425.7-10 ; MALALAS, 363.22-23 (Bonn) ; CHRON. PASCH., 589 8-9 (Bonn).

(62) MARCELLINUS, 447.1 (*MGH.*, AA., XI, 82) ; BAZAAR, 364 (Driver-Hodgson).

(63) On the forum and its monuments : R. JANIN, Constantinople byzantine^2 (Paris, 1964), 64-68 ; R. GUILLAND, 'Les trois places de Théodose le Grand', in *JÖBG*, 8 (1959), 55-59 (= *Études de topographie de Constantinople byzantine*, ii (Berliner Byzantinischer Arbeiten, 37), Berlin-Amsterdam (1969), 55-68 ; A. SCHNEIDER, *Byzanz. Vorarbeiten zur Topographie und Archaeologie der Stadt* (Berlin, 1936), 17-22 ; S. CASSON and D TALBOT RICE, *Second Report upon the Excavations carried out in and near the Hippodrome of Constantinople in 1928* (London, 1929), 36-40.

not affected. The enormous triumphal arch of Theodosius also continued to stand, although the statues atop it may have been felled for it is the numerous statues in the forum which Marcellinus singles out for mention. In addition to the statues he also refers to some huge blocks of stone which had long stood *super sese in aedificio*. They were probably from the basilica of Theodosius I, the only building of suitable size in the area at the time (64).

Marcellinus adds that no one was injured in the collapse of statues and other masonry in the cluttered Theodosian forum, a sure indication that it was empty. If that is so, then the quake probably struck at night as Malalas reports (65). The Byzantines, who perhaps had some arrangements for quakes, headed not into the more crowded areas of the city but into the more open spaces to the west. From the *Chronicon Paschale* we learn that they fled outside the city, no one daring to remain in his home (66). This is precisely what happened in 557 when the quake struck at night also. However, a century later, Constantinople was a far more crowded place, especially in terms of buildings, and Agathias comments on the fact that there was little open space in which to congregate (67).

As noted earlier, it was the collapse of the walls in 447 which was (incorrectly) associated directly with the reception of the Trisagion in 438 by, for example, Glycas and Nikephoros Kallistos. So too the subsequent rebuilding in 60 days came to be attributed not to

(64) *Notitia Const.*, viii 9 (ed. Seeck, 236). Note also JANIN, *Const. byz.*², 67.

(65) Assuming that the Byzantines adopted the conventional Roman reckoning from midnight (A. SAMUEL, *Greek and Roman Chronology* (*Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, i.7), Munich (1972), 13) then the quake did strike the city in the middle of the night – 'at the second hour' according to *SEC*, 425.7 (cf. a fire at Constantinople in 406 which accurred at 3 a.m. (CHRON. PASCH., 569.11)). The Paschal chronicle states that no one was killed in the quake at all which at least confirms Marcellinus' comment that no one was killed in the Forum Tauri. However, it seems unlikely that such a destructive quake should cause no loss of life whatsoever. Perhaps the chronicler really means what Agathias said of the quake of 557 – no one 'of importance' was killed (v. 3.10).

(66) CHRON. PASCH., 586.7, 589.8. Note also the same reaction in 611 – everybody rushed to the Hebdomon chanting the Trisagion (CHRON. PASCH., 702.7-10) and in 583 when the hippodrome games celebrating the foundation of the city on May 11, 330 were quickly terminated as everyone raced out of the hippodrome to the churches (THEOPHANES, A. M. 6075 (de Boor, 252.29-31)).

(67) AGATHIAS, v.3.6.

Constantine but to Cyrus of Panopolis who built the sea walls in 439 ([68]). Not only is this a later conflation but it obscures the point of the urgency of the rebuilding. Whereas there was no pressing danger to Constantinople in 438 to require the walls to be rebuilt so quickly (the Huns were on the other side of the Danube and at peace with the empire) even if they had been destroyed, then there was a very good reason for the speed with which the operation was undertaken in 447. From his exile Nestorius knew that the ruined walls had to be restored rapidly because the Huns were threatening the city ([69]). There can be no doubt that the Huns were the motivation for Constantine's haste.

The devastating Hun invasion of Thrace in 447 began in the early part of the spring, probably in February or early March ([70]). It may even be that the invasion was prompted by the knowledge of the effect of the earthquake on the walls of Constantinople. By the end of March the walls were repaired and the city was once again safe against the barbarian enemy so ill-equipped and inexperienced at sieges. In the interim, however, so we learn from the life of Hypatius, some of the populace of Constantinople wanted to flee the city. Certain monks were all prepared for a retreat to Jerusalem ([71]) and Nestorius indicates that the court itself was planning to take refuge elsewhere ([72]). The Huns eventually bypassed the city and pushed on into the Chersonese where their progress must have been facilitated by the fact that the quake had also destroyed the 'Long Wall' across the Chersonese ([73]).

(68) See n. 50 and, for the process of this false attribution : SPECK, *Studien*, 139-140.

(69) *Bazaar*, 367-8 (Driver-Hodgson). The connection between the Hun threat and the rebuilding of the walls has always been realised : e.g. VAN MILLIGEN, *Walls*, 45 and J. BURY, *History of the Later Roman Empire* (London, 1923), i.70.

(70) I suggest this date on the assumption that under 447 Marcellinus lists events in strict chronological order. He locates the Hun invasions between the quake and the rebuilding of the walls of Constantinople. The suggestion that the invasion *preceded* (made by O. MAENCHEN-HELFEN, *The World of the Huns* (Berkeley, 1973), 120) is based on a misreading of Marcellinus and can be dismissed.

(71) CALLINICUS, *vita Hypatii*, 52.3 (ed. Bartelink (SC 177), Paris (1971), 292).

(72) Driver-Hodgson, 366.

(73) EVAGRIUS, *HE*, i.17.

According to Marcellinus the plague and famine which followed the quake in January took a heavy toll of men and livestock (74) and this is confirmed by a passage in the life of Anatolius, the patriarch of Constantinople at the time (75). Moreover, it seems that the Huns themselves fell victim to the disease. Nestorius and Isaac of Antioch go so far as to ascribe the Hun retreat from Constantinople in 447 to the losses they incurred from the plague (76).

In 438 the patriarch Proclus and the people had processed to the Hebdomon to pray together. In 447 it was not the patriarch who led the prayers but the emperor, appearing barefoot with the senate, people and clergy. Together they spent several days in tearful prayers at the Hebdomon as depicted in the *Menologion* of Basil II (77). We noted earlier that each year after 438 on September 25 the emperor, patriarch and people of Constantinople would take part in a long procession from Hagia Sophia to the Hebdomon (78). This was to commemorate the tremors of 438. The devastating quake of 447 was recalled annually in a similar fashion. Originally, the procession, like that in memory of events in 438, terminated at the Hebdomon where the people of Constantinople had gathered on January 26, 447 to pray for deliverance from the wrath of God. It was during this very procession in 457, just ten years after the quake it commemorated, that the emperor Marcian was forced to retire to the city where he died the next day (79). The *Chronicon Paschale* written in the seventh century records that the earthquake of 447 was remembered annually with a procession to the Hebdomon (80). However, by the time of the extant liturgical calendars in the tenth century the course of the procession had changed. The ceremony

(74) 447.1 (*MGH.*, AA., XI, 82).

(75) *Vita Anatolii*, xvii (AA SS., July, vol. I, 583B).

(76) Quoted *in extenso* by MAENCHEN-HELFEN, *Huns*, 122-123.

(77) MALALAS, 364.1-2 ; *SEC*, 425.11. For the Illustration : *Il Menologio di Basilio II*, ii.350.

(78) N. 22 above

(79) THEODORE ANAGNOSTES, *H. E. Epitome*, 367 (ed. Hansen, 103) : *συνέβη δὲ ἐξελθεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν λιτὴν ἐν τῷ Κάμπῳ τῷ Ἰαννουαρίῳ μηνὶ εἰκάδι ἕκτῃ* ... as explained in B. Croke, "The Date and Circumstances of Marcian's Decease", *Byz.* 48 (1978), pp. 5-9.

(80) 589.1. It is not therefore a contamination from the quake of 438 as suggested by SCHNEIDER, *Landmauer*, 4, n. 2 and SPECK, *Studien*, 159, n. 42

began with an *orthros* at Hagia Sophia ; then the clergy and people, including the emperor, processed to the Forum of Constantine where they made a longer than usual stop. From there it moved on via the Hexakionion where a *Gloria Patri* was said to the Helenianai where mass was celebrated in the church of the Virgin (81). No explanation for this change of layout is apparent. It may have been a conscious attempt to reduce the number of lengthy processions to the Hebdomon, a burden for aged patriarchs (82) ; or else an attempt to bring the church of the Virgin more fully into the liturgical life of the city and this may date from the time of the church's construction, assuming (there is no evidence) that this took place after the time of the Paschal chronicler (83).

From the evidence considered so far there is only one possible reconstruction : a great earthquake struck Constantinople early on Sunday January 26, 447 which knocked down sections of the city walls, both land and sea, and caused much destruction in other parts of the city as well. The people fled from the city to the Hebdomon where they were led in prayer by the emperor. The Huns soon launched an invasion of Thrace and the walls were therefore quickly repaired and the rebuilding was completed by the end of March 447.

III

Confusion and contradiction only arise when we come to the evidence of the *Chronicon Paschale*. The source of this chronicle suggested that there was an earthquake in 447 and that it was remembered annually by the church at Constantinople, for that is

(81) *Typ.*, I.212.1-2.

(82) As suggested by Janin (*REB*, 24 (1966), 72). In the tenth century annual processions to the Hebdomon were still held to commemorate the origin of the Trisagion (September, 25) : *SEC*, 79.18-80.21, *Typ* , 44.24-48.14 ; the feast of John the Theologian (May 8) : *SEC*, 64.30.34, *Typ.*, I.283-23-284.18 ; and the Avar attack on Constantinople in 619 (June 5) ; *Typ.*, I.306.4-308.15. For a possible extra procession to the Hebdomon in the time of Theophanes see n. 19 above.

(83) The church of the Virgin cannot be precisely located either : see V. Tiftixoglu, 'Die Helenianae nebst einigen anderen Besitzungen im Vorfeld des fruhen Konstantinopel', in Beck, *Studien*, 68.

the substance of the chronicle's entry for that year (84). However, it is dated not to January 26 but November 6. In order to account for this discrepancy scholarship has continued to contrive compromise solutions rather than question the date. Seeck, Grumel and Downey, for example, decided that the quake of 447 occurred on November 6 and that the one described as having taken place on January 26 did not happen until 450, the year under which it is placed in the *Chronicon Paschale* (85). That it occurred on a *Sunday* January 26 they failed to consider, and in 450 January 26 was not a Sunday.

Those who have examined the problem more thoroughly have offered more subtle explanations: Schneider considered that the quake first struck on November 6 (Schneider's 'November 7' is merely a slip) 447 and, later, on January 26, 448 so that the walls were not completed before the end of March 448 (86). Yet this contradicts the explicit statement of Marcellinus that the walls were rebuilt before the end of 447. In addition, it makes less sense of the urgency and speed of the rebuilding since by the end of 447 the Huns were no longer a threat to Constantinople (87). Most recently, Speck has argued that the 447 quake had two peaks – the walls were destroyed on January 26, the remainder of the city on November 6 or, alternatively, on November 6, 446 and January 26, 447 (88). If one accepts the dates of the *Chronicon Paschale* (November 6, 447 and January 26, 450) – and they are accepted – then one is obviously forced to perform some subtle intellectual gymnastics in order to contort some sense from them. But are the dates reliable at all? To begin with, the *Chronicon Paschale* evidence:

(84) 586.6-14 (Bonn).

(85) There is no other record of a quake at Constantinople in 450. This statement of the *Chronicon Paschale* is the ultimate evidence for Ambraseys (*Bull. Seis. Soc. Am.* (1962), 900), who lists it in his catalogue of quakes with tidal waves although acknowledging that no such waves are actually recorded for the 450 quake!

(86) *Landmauer*, 4, n. 2. We may be justified in assuming that the aftershocks extended (from Jan. 26, 447) over a period of time but 'three months' (*SEC*, 425.11) may be an embroidery.

(87) The war was over by October 1, 447 (MAENCHEN-HELFEN, *Huns*, 124, n. 570).

(88) *Studien*, 159, 227.

447 : *καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ ἔτει ἐγένοντο σεισμοὶ μεγάλοι, ὥστε τὰ τείχη πεσεῖν · ἐκράτησαν γὰρ ἐπὶ χρόνον, ὥστε μὴ τολμᾶν τινα ἐν οἴκῳ μένειν, ἀλλ' ἔφυγον ἔξω τῆς πόλεως πάντες λιτανεύοντες ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός · γέγονε γὰρ ἀπειλὴ μεγάλη, οἵα οὐ γέγονεν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς · τινὲς δὲ ἔλεγον καὶ πῦρ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ τεθεᾶσθαι. ὅθεν καὶ ἡ ἀνάμνησις κατ' ἔτος ἐπιτελεῖται μέχρι νῦν τῆς λιτανείας ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ φιλανθρώπου θεοῦ μακροθυμίας ἐν τῷ Τρικόγχῳ πρὸ η ' ἰδῶν νοεμβρίων. Ἐν γὰρ τῇ τοσαύτῃ ἀπειλῇ οὐκ ἐθανάτωσέν τινας* [89].

450 : *τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει ἔπαθε Κωνσταντινούπολις ἀπὸ σεισμοῦ μηνὶ αὐδυναίῳ ς ' καὶ κ ' νυκτὸς ἀπὸ τῶν λεγομένων Τρωαδησίων Ἐμβόλων ἕως τοῦ χαλκοῦ Τετραπύλου ἐπὶ χρόνον, ὥστε μὴ τολμᾶν ἐν οἴκῳ τινὰ μένειν, ἀλλ' ἔφυγον ἔξω τῆς πόλεως πάντες λιτανεύοντες ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐλιτάνευσε μετὰ τῆς συγκλήτου καὶ τοῦ ὄχλου καὶ τοῦ κλήρου ἀνυπόδετος ἡμέρας πολλάς. γέγονε γὰρ ἀπειλὴ μεγάλη, οἵα οὐ γέγονεν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς · τινὲς δὲ ἔλεγον καὶ πῦρ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ τεθεᾶσθαι. ὅθεν καὶ ἡ μνήμη καὶ ἔτος ἐπιτελεῖται τῆς λιτανείας μέχρι καὶ νῦν ἐν τῷ κάμπῳ ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ φιλανθρώπου θεοῦ μακροθυμίας. ἐν γὰρ τοσαύτῃ ὀργῇ οὐδεὶς ἐθανατώθη* [90].

It is clear from this comparison that the quake described under 450 is the same one as that mentioned by Malalas and the liturgical calendars (date, emperor barefoot, location of destruction) and which can *only* have occurred on January 26, 447. That the chronicle has misplaced it arouses immediate suspicion. If the quake under 450 is actually that of 447, as it is, then what is that described under 447 ?

A closer look at the contents of the chronicle's entry under 447 suggests that there is more here than simply an earthquake. Firstly, it is recorded that the event is celebrated annually on November 6. As it happens, the Byzantines did not remember any earthquake on this day but what was recalled each year on November 6 was the eruption of Mt. Vesuvius on November 6, 472 when ask actually fell on Constantinople [91]. Dark clouds gathered over the city and

(89) 586.6-14 (Bonn).

(90) 589.6-16 (Bonn).

(91) PROCOPIUS, *Wars*, vi.4.27 : MARCELLINUS, 472.1 (*MGH.*, AA., XI, 90) : *huius mettuendi memoriam cineris Byzantii annue celebrant VIII idus Novemb* : THEOD. ANAG., *HE. Epitome*, 398 (Hansen, 111) ; MALALAS, 372.6-10 ; *SEC*, 198-199. In trying to account for the contamination in the *Chronicon Paschale*, SPECK

the debris slowly filtered down as illustrated in the *Menologion* of Basil II (92). It was during these very celebrations in 512 that the riots against the monophysite policy of Anastasius broke out (93) and in 556 the *hegoumenos* Timothy died on this very day (94).

The commemorative liturgy for the Vesuvian eruption was held each year in the church of Saints Peter and Paul in the Triconch, exactly as mentioned in the *Chronicon Paschale* (95), but that celebrating the quake of 447 was not. What has happened, then, is that the *Chronicon Paschale* (or the process of transmission) has confused the celebrations held on November 6 with those commemorating the earthquake of 447. This is not as unlikely as it might appear when one considers that in the ancient and Byzantine world volcanoes and earthquakes were essentially part of the same phenomenon since both were caused by the pressure of hot subterranean air currents on the earth's crust (96). Furthermore, the evidence of the *Chronicon Paschale* is suspect because of the close verbal similarities between the two entries. Except for the place and date of its annual commemoration, the quake recorded under 447 is described in exactly the same terms as that under 450. This suggests that what we have here is a doublet (not the only one in the *Chronicon Paschale*) of one and the same quake (97). It will also be observed that the entry of the *Chronicon Paschale* under 450 is made up of the entry under 447 (self-plagiarism) with the insertion en bloc of the passage of Malalas relating to the quake of 447. The

(*Studien*, 227) does not seem to have realised that the so-called *κόνις* was an actual historical event.

(92) *Il Menologio di Basilio II*, ii.164.

(93) MARCELLINUS, 513.3-4 (*MGH.*, AA., XI, 97-98) : *in quo die memoria cineris dudum totam Europam tegentis apud Byzantios celebratur, in foro Constantini undique confluunt quorum alii quidem ... Anastasio Caesare in processibus degente* ... and THEOPHANES, A. M. 6005 (de Boor), 159.8-9). Victor DE TUNNUNA (*MGH.*, AA., XI, 195) is confused in thinking that the *memoria cineris* (= *μνήμη κόνεως* of the Greek sources) of 512 was the occasion for the original shower of cinders on Constantinople. This in turn misled SPECK apparently (n. 91 above).

(94) THEOPHANES, A. M. 6049 (de Boor, 230.30) : *εἰς τὴν μνήμην τῆς κόνεως ἐτελεύτησε Τιμόθεος* ...

(95) 586.13 (Bonn) ; *Typ.*, I.90-92 ; *SEC*, 198.7-199.2.

(96) E.g. ARISTOTLE, *Metrologica*, ii.8.

(97) Already realised by SPECK, *Studien*, 227. For a similar doublet in Theophanes : STEIN, *Bas-Empire*, 828.

date given for the earthquake of 447 by the *Chronicon Paschale* – November 6 – must be abandoned altogether and the description of the quake under 450 must be taken to be that of 447. Therefore, it cannot be used as evidence for a destructive quake at Constantinople in 450.

Why does the *Chronicon Paschale* place the quake of 447 under 450 ? I suggest this as the most likely explanation : the source of the *Chronicon Paschale* listed a quake under 447, which in terms of detail resembled that described by Malalas and the liturgical calendars. However, the chronicler borrowed the place and date of its annual commemoration from the liturgy in memory not of the quake but of the eruption of Mt. Vesuvius in 472, that is to say he thought the quake must have taken place on November 6, 447. Next, when he came to Malalas he noticed what seemed to be another quake dated no more precisely than at the 'end of the reign of Theodosius II' (*εἰς τὰ τελευταῖα τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ νέου Θεοδοσίου*) and which was dated to January 26 (98). Not realising that in 450 January 26 was not a Sunday and that Malalas was in fact describing the same quake he himself had listed already under 447, the Paschal chronicler was forced to insert it under 450, that is, at the end of the reign of Theodosius II. The earthquake of 450 existed only in the imagination of the Paschal chronicler and never in reality. The mere method of composition evident in these two entries in the *Chronicon Paschale* provides confident ground for considering them inferior testimony for the earthquake of 447.

Somehow a process of transposition and contamination has crept in. By the time of the *Chronicon Paschale* and even, as noticed previously in the case of Marcellinus, as soon as the early sixth century it was the annual processions and liturgies which were important and it was no longer clear which celebration recalled which original earthquake.

IV

A close examination of the description of the Byzantine chronicles and liturgical calendars makes it possible to see in them a fusion of

(98) The phrase is from *SEC*, 425.4 which seems to represent more fully the original source of Malalas and the *Chronicon Paschale*.

two separate traditions concerning two separate earthquakes which struck Constantinople close together in the mid-fifth century, and to differentiate between them. This leads to the following conclusions :

1) The quake in 438 (not 437) was the occasion for the origin of the Trisagion but had little damaging effect. It was celebrated annually at Constantinople with a procession to the Hebdomon on September 25.

2) The quake celebrated in the liturgical calendars on January 26 happened in 447. It was a very destructive quake and caused the emperor to appear barefoot with the people to pray for atonement. The land and sea walls were rebuilt within sixty days under the supervision of the Praetorian Prefect, Constantine. The quake was remembered annually at the Hebdomon, later at the Helenianai.

3) The entries for the quake of 447 in the *Chronicon Paschale* form a clear doublet. That under 450 describes the quake of 447 while that under 447 also describes the quake of that year but confuses its annual commemoration with the eruption of Mt. Vesuvius in 472.

4) The earthquake which appears in the standard catalogues under the year 450 must be deleted. It is simply that of 447 misplaced in the *Chronicon Paschale*.

While earthquakes in Graeco-Roman antiquity were no less frequent than in Byzantine times we do get the impression from our literary sources that quakes became more regular from the fourth century onwards ; at least they occupy a more prominent position in the extant records. This quantitative increase in the recording of earthquakes is to be explained ultimately by the Christianization of the Roman world, that is to say although quakes were experienced and recorded in antiquity and sometimes interpreted as a manifestation of divine wrath, the God of the Christians assumed a more dominant and consistent role as the 'Earthshaker'. Interest in the physical causes of earthquakes declined and they came to be ascribed to the will of God, pure and simple. In short, "the Byzantine was much more interested in the meaning of the natural phenomenon than in its scientific cause" (99). To suggest otherwise, as Photius did, was most unusual and well worth recording (100).

(99) N. BAYNES, 'The Thought-World of East Rome', in *Byzantine Studies and*

Once quakes had become more important, in that they were a demonstrable sign of God's dissatisfaction with his people, it became absolutely necessary to heed such warnings and not allow them to be forgotten in time. Hence, as we have seen in the case of Constantinople, the Christian emperor took on a new role as the leader of the alarmed and penitent population and it was the emperor who approached the holy man to intercede with God on behalf of the people or, barefooted, led the people in prayers of propitiation. It was now important, too, that memory of these earthquakes be constantly kept before the minds of the faithful. Consequently, annual liturgical commemorations of quakes, in addition to eclipses [101], comets [102], and conflagrations [103], took place. In Constantinople where the evidence is fullest these penitential recollections increased with each new quake and they invariably involved lengthy processions and liturgies with the emperor, patriarch and people all participating.

For Byzantine Constantinople our sources for earthquakes and earthquake processions – the liturgical calendars and chronicles – are remarkably complete. Moreover, this relative richness of material is a clear result of the city's function as an imperial capital. It is hardly fortuitous that the first annually commemorated quake, and that (in 438) by no means destructive, did not take place until a time when the court had permanently established itself at Constantinople and had begun to dominate and shape the ceremonial life of the city. So too, it was the singular importance of processions and ceremonies in the city which is reflected in the content of the Byzantine chronicles themselves as sources predominantly concerned with events in the history of the imperial city. So

other Essays (London, 1955), 38, in the context of some concise remarks on the general problem Greek science posed to Christian belief in Divine Providence.

(100) SYMEON MAGISTER (Bonn), 673 with BAYNES, *Byzantine Studies*, 248-249.

(101) *E.g.* that of 891 commemorated annually on 8 August (*SEC*, 878.9-16).

(102) *E.g.* that celebrated on 21 October (*SEC*, 154.24-26).

(103) The great fire of 476 was remembered each year on 1 September (*SEC*, 6.3-9). That it was a sign of God's wrath is revealed by the blunt reaction of St. Marcellus : *ἀναβλέψας δὲ εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ δακρύσας ἐπὶ πολὺ ὁ γενναῖος ἐκεῖνος [Μάρκελλος] εἶπεν · «Φεῦ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἁρματῶν · δοκεῖ γὰρ δι' αὐτὰς τῷ θεῷ ἀπὸ θαλάττης ἄχρι θαλάττης διαδραμεῖν τὸ πῦρ καὶ ἐκτεμεῖν τὸ μέσον τῆς πόλεως». Vita Marc.*, 31 (ed. G. DAGRON, in *An. Boll.*, 86 (1968), 314).

paramount, however, were the annual earthquake liturgies as public and ceremonial manifestations of repentance that when the chroniclers were confronted with recording a particular quake in the year of its occurrence they had to cope with a mass of conflations and accretions. It is only by careful and painstaking analysis that we can now differentiate the Byzantine earthquakes and their respective liturgical commemorations.

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REMARQUES SUR LA TRADITION DU *PHYSIOLOGUS* GREC

L'ouvrage que les modernes ont commodément intitulé *Physiologus* (1), a exercé une influence profonde pendant tout le moyen âge. Si on s'interroge sur la raison de ce phénomène, on aboutit, croyons-nous, à deux constatations se dégageant déjà fort bien du titre, tel que nous le lisons dans le *codex Ambros. A 45 sup.* (2). Le «physiologue» y propose en effet d'une part la description de la nature et des dispositions des animaux, et d'autre part une transposition de ces particularités sur le plan spirituel ; il annonce également qu'il va faire comprendre l'économie de l'incarnation à travers la nature des animaux. De ses efforts naîtra un symbolisme naturel d'inspiration chrétienne, qui répond à deux caractéristiques majeures de l'esprit byzantin : un penchant religieux et le goût du bizarre.

Il est évident qu'au cours des siècles cet ouvrage populaire a subi d'innombrables vicissitudes, dues avant tout à la liberté que les copistes ressentaient vis-à-vis de ce texte facile et dénué de toute aspiration stylistique. Ce sont précisément les interventions de scribes trop appliqués qui justifient la petite note que nous présentons ici. Pour bien délimiter la portée du problème, il nous semble indispensable de retracer dans ses grandes lignes la tradition du *Physiologus*, si complexe soit-elle. Nous résumons donc d'abord

(1) Sur cet ouvrage en général, nous renvoyons à K. KRUMBACHER, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur von Justinian bis zum Ende des oströmischen Reiches (572-1453)* (Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, IX.B. I. Abteilung), München, 1897, pp. 874-877 et à B. E. PERRY dans PAULY-WISSOWA, *Realencyclopädie*, Erste Reihe, XX, I (1941), coll. 1074-1129.

(2) *Περὶ τὰς φύσεις καὶ θέσεις τῶν ζώων καὶ πῶς ἀπὸ τῶν αἰσθητῶν εἰς πνευματικὰ μεταβάλλονται καὶ πῶς ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν ζώων φύσεως τὴν ἔνσαρκον οἰκονομίαν τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ παρεμφαίνει καὶ ἀποσημαίνει ὁ φυσιολόγος* (f 97^{v}).

les résultats de l'étude de F. Sbordone, qui en 1936 publia la première édition critique de ce texte (3).

Le *Physiologus* nous est connu par quatre recensions principales, qui ont vu le jour à des moments assez éloignés les uns des autres : la rédaction la plus ancienne, qui aurait été écrite «paulo post Euangelia» (4), une rédaction byzantine du ve-vi^e^ s., le *Physiologus* du Ps.-Basile du xe-xie s. et, vers la fin de l'époque byzantine, des adaptations, parfois sous forme métrique, en grec démotique. Les 23 témoins de la première rédaction se répartissent à leur tour en quatre familles (5), dont celle désignée comme *codicum classis antiquissima* nous intéresse particulièrement. Elle compte deux manuscrits : le

(3) F. Sbordone, *Physiologi graeci singulas variarum aetatum recensiones ...*, Mediolani, 1936 ; voir les comptes rendus de P. Donnini dans *Revista Indo – Greca – Italica di filologia – lingua – antichità*, XX (1936), pp. 203-205, de P. Maas dans *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 37 (1937), p. 379, de K. Mras dans *Gnomon*, XIII (1937), pp. 395-397, de B. E. Perry dans *American Journal of Philology*, 58 (1937), pp. 488-496, de D'Arcy W. Thompson dans *Classical Review*, LII (1938), pp. 182-183, et de F. Carmody dans *Byzantion*, XIV (1939), pp. 681-684 ; nous n'avons pas pu prendre connaissance des notes consacrées à cette édition par Valgimigli (dans *Leonardo* de 1937, p. 16) et par Alfieri (dans *L'Italia che scrive* de 1937, p. 254).

(4) F. Sbordone, *op. cit.*, p. xii. Cette expression manque évidemment de précision. Récemment R. Riedinger a proposé de fixer la date de composition entre 180 et 200 après J.-C. ; cf. R. Riedinger, *Der Physiologos und Klemens von Alexandreia. Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 66 (1973), pp. 273-307. En 1954 cependant E. Peterson a encore argumenté en faveur d'une date postérieure à 385 ; cf. E. Peterson, *Die Spiritualität des griechischen Physiologos. Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 47 (1954), pp 71-72 ; contre cette dernière thèse, voir les remarques d'U. Treu, *Zur Datierung des Physiologus. Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, LVII (1966), pp. 101-104.

(5) Le manuscrit le plus ancien du *Physiologus*, actuellement conservé à la Pierpon Morgan Library à New York (Ms. 397 ; sigle G), est resté inconnu à F Sbordone. Son texte a été publié, à côté de celui du *codex Ambros. A 45 sup.* par D. Offermans, *Der Physiologus nach den Handschriften G und M* (Beitrage zur klassischen Philologie, Heft 22), Meisenheim am Glan, 1966 ; voir les recensions de E. Rosen dans *The Classical World*, LXI (1967), p. 163, de P. Louis dans *Revue des études grecques*, LXXXI (1968), p. 644, mais surtout celui de B. E. Perry dans *Gnomon*, XL (1968), pp. 416-418. Le travail de D. Offermans a été continué pour les autres familles de la première recension par D. Kaimakis, *Der Physiologus nach der ersten Redaktion* (Beitrage zur klassischen Philologie, Heft 63), Meisenheim am Glan, 1974.

codex Ambros. A 45 sup. (XIIIe s. ; sigle M) (6) et le *Parisinus gr. 2509* (XVe s. ; sigle *Γ*) ; de plus elle est représentée par une série de 8 chapitres, ajoutée à la recension Ps.-Basilienne, dans le *codex Ambros. C 255 inf.* (XVIe s.) et dans le *Viterbensis, Bibliotheca capitularis, gr. 68*[a] (XVIe s.) (7).

Les manuscrits appartenant à la *codicum classis antiquissima* se distinguent des autres témoins par la présence d'un deuxième chapitre au sujet du pélican, intitulé *β φύσις τοῦ πελεκᾶνος* (8). F. Sbordone a fort bien vu que ce texte était une addition postérieure (9), mais il n'a pas réussi à déterminer la source utilisée par l'interpolateur. Or, précisément, nous sommes en mesure de combler cette lacune, puisque nous avons retrouvé le même texte dans les *Quaestiones et dubia* (10) de S. Maxime le Confesseur (ca. 580-662 après J.-C.). Cette collection de questions et de réponses a, elle aussi, connu une tradition complexe (11) ; qu'il nous suffise à présent de savoir que la recension publiée par Fr. Combefis (Paris, 1675) (12) n'offre au lecteur qu'une sélection assez restreinte du texte original, lequel ne s'est conservé – et encore, sous forme mutilée –

(6) Ce sont Aem. Martini et M. Bassi qui ont situé le manuscrit au XIIIe s. ; plusieurs savants ont soutenu depuis lors que le témoin était beaucoup plus ancien ; cette discussion a été résumée par F. Sbordone, qui personnellement penche vers une datation au Xe-XIe s. ; cf. F. SBORDONE, *op. cit.*, p. XIII.

(7) F. SBORDONE, *op. cit.*, p. XIII et p. XXX.

(8) Ce texte figure déjà dans l'édition de J. B. PITRA, *Spicilegium Solesmense*, III, Parisiis, 1855, pp. 343-344 (d'après le seul *Par. gr. 2509*) ; F. Sbordone l'a repris dans un appendix (*op. cit.*, pp. 313-314). Il est également présent dans l'édition de M par D. Offermans, qui le donne sans attirer l'attention sur son caractère interpolé ; cf. D. OFFERMANS, *op. cit.* (sub n. 5), p. 31.

(9) F. SBORDONE, *op. cit.*, pp. XXX ; XLVI-XLVII.

(10) Cf. M. GEERARD, *Clavis patrum graecorum*, t. 3, Turnhout, 1979, n° 7689 et 7707 (5) ; G. BARDY, *La littérature patristique des «Quaestiones et responsiones» sur l'Écriture Sainte* *Revue biblique*, 42 (1933), pp. 337-339 ; P. SHERWOOD, *An Annotated Date-List of the Works of Maximus the Confessor* (Studia Anselmiana, 30), Roma, 1952, p. 26 ; H. DÖRRIES s.v. *Erotapokriseis* dans le *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, VI (1966), coll. 360-361.

(11) Nous l'avons étudiée en détail dans notre thèse de doctorat (non publiée) : *Maximi Confessoris* Quaestiones et dubia. *Tekstkritische uitgave met authenticiteitskritiek*, Leuven, 1980 (3 vol.).

(12) Fr. COMBEFIS, *S. Maximi Confessoris, Graecorum theologi eximiique philosophi, operum tomus primus* ..., Parisiis, 1675, pp. 300-334 (repris par J.-P. MIGNE, *PG* 90, 785C$_1$-856B$_{15}$).

que dans le seul *Vat. gr. 1703* (xe s.). La question concernant la nature du pélican occupe la 28e position dans l'édition de Fr. Combefis (*PG*, 90, $808B_{12}$-$809B_5$) ; elle manque actuellement dans le *Vat. gr. 1703*, mais en revanche, elle est attestée dans une autre recension des *Quaestiones et dubia*, que nous connaissons grâce au *Vat. gr. 435* (XIIIe s.), et dans la chaîne dite «Athanasienne» (cf. *Vat. gr. 754* du xe s. aux ff. 247^v-248^r).

Nous publions ici le texte de la question, accompagné d'un apparat critique contenant les variantes des manuscrits qui se sont avérés représentatifs de la tradition des *Quaestiones et dubia*. On y trouvera également les variantes de l'*Ambros. A 45 sup.* ; malgré ses nombreuses leçons individuelles, nous avons préféré citer ce manuscrit plutôt que le *Par. gr. 2509*, tout d'abord en raison de son ancienneté et ensuite parce que nous avons pu le collationner nous-même. Pour quelques cas où nous avons invoqué la situation dans le *Parisinus*, nous nous sommes fiés à l'apparat critique de F. Sbordone. Voici l'explication des sigles :

a) pour les *Quaestiones et dubia* :

Z	*Vat. gr. 2020* (a. 994), témoin de la recension publiée.
R	*Par. gr. 174* (xe s.), témoin de la recension publiée.
O	*Par. gr. 1277* (XIIIe s.), témoin de la recension publiée.
F^a	*Vat. gr. 435* (XIIIe s.), recension à 27 questions.
cat Ps. XIX	Chaîne sur le psautier du type XIX selon la classification de G. Karo-I. Lietzmann (13) (cité d'après le *Vat. gr. 754* du xe s.).

b) pour le *Physiologus* :

M	*Ambros. A 45 sup.* (x^e/XIe s. ?).
Γ	*Par. gr. 2509* (XVe s., cité d'après l'édition de F. Sbordone).

(13) G. KARO-I. LIETZMANN, *Catenarum graecarum catalogus. Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*. Philologisch-Historische Klasse aus dem Jahre 1902, pars I, pp. 54-56 (Heft 1) ; il est indispensable de tenir compte des corrections proposées par M. RICHARD, *Quelques manuscrits peu connus des chaînes exégétiques et des commentaires grecs sur le psautier. Bulletin d'information de l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes*, 3 (1954), p. 88.

Τί σημαίνει τὸ ἐν τῷ ἑκατοστῷ πρώτῳ ψαλμῷ εἰρημένον «ὡμοιώθην πελεκᾶνι ἐρημικῷ» (a) ;

Ὁ πελεκὰν οὗτος ὄρνεόν ἐστιν · ὁ δὲ ὄφις πολὺ ἐχθραίνει τῶν νεοττῶν αὐτοῦ. Αὐτὸς δὲ τί μηχανᾶται ; Εἰς ὕψος πήγνυσι τὴν καλιὰν αὐτοῦ, πανταχόθεν περιφράσσων αὐτὴν διὰ τὸν ὄφιν. Τί οὖν ποιεῖ ὁ κακομήχανος ὄφις ; Περισκοπεῖ ὅθεν πνέει ὁ ἄνεμος κἀκεῖθεν ἐμφυσᾷ τοῖς νεοττοῖς τὸν ἰὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τελευτῶσιν. Ἔρχεται οὖν ὁ πελεκὰν καὶ θεωρεῖ ὅτι ἀπέθανον αὐτοῦ τὰ παιδία καὶ σκοπεῖ νεφέλην καὶ πέταται εἰς ὕψος καὶ μετὰ τῶν πτερύγων τύπτει αὐτοῦ τὰς πλευρὰς καὶ ἐξέρχεται αἷμα καὶ διὰ τῆς νεφέλης ἐπιστάζει τούτοις καὶ ἐγείρονται. Λαμβάνεται οὖν ὁ πελεκὰν εἰς τὸν κύριον · τὰ δὲ παιδία αὐτοῦ, ὁ Ἀδὰμ καὶ ἡ Εὔα, ἡ ἡμετέρα φύσις, ἡ δὲ καλιὰ αὐτοῦ ὁ παράδεισος, ὁ δὲ ὄφις ὁ ἀποστάτης διάβολος. Ἐνεφύσησεν οὖν ὁ ἀρχέκακος ὄφις διὰ τῆς παρακοῆς τοῖς πρωτοπλάστοις καὶ γεγόνασιν «νεκροὶ τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ» (b). *Ὁ γοῦν κύριος ἡμῶν καὶ θεὸς διὰ τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀγάπην ὑψοῦται ἐπὶ τοῦ τιμίου σταυροῦ, καὶ νυγεὶς τὴν*

(a) *Ps. 101, 7.* (b) *Eph. 2, 1.*

1 ante *Τί* inser. *πεῦσις* R, *ἐρώτησις* Z O 1/2 *Τί – ἐρημικῷ*] om. cat Ps. XIX, *β φύσις τοῦ πελεκᾶνος* M 1 *σημαίνει*] *ἐστι* O, *ἐστιν* F^a *τὸ – εἰρημένον*] om. F^a *ὁμοιώθην* Z 3 ante *Ὁ* inser. *ἀπόκρισις* R Z O *Ὁ – ἐστιν*] *τῶι τοιούτωι πετεινῶι* M (*Γ* = lectio communis) *πελεκὰς* Z, *πελεκᾶς* cat Ps. XIX *δὲ*] om. M *τοῖς νεοττοῖς* O F^a 4 *μηχανᾶται τί* R, *μηχανᾶται τί τοιοῦτον* F^a *Εἰς – πήγνυσι*] *πήγνυσιν ἐφ' ὕψους* F^a *πηγνύει* O *αὐτοῦ τὴν καλιὰν* M *αὐτοῦ*[2]] *ἑαυτοῦ* R 5 *πανταχοῦ* M *περιφράττων* F^a cat Ps. XIX, *περιφλάσσει* M *ποιεῖ* post *ὄφις* (l. 6) trsp. F^a post *ποιεῖ* add. *καὶ* O 6 *πνεῖ* F^a cat Ps. XIX M *νεοσσοῖς* M 7 *αὐτοῦ*] om. M *πελεκὰς* Z M, *πελεκᾶν* cat Ps. XIX 7/8 *ὅτι – παιδία*] *τεθνηκότα αὐτοῦ τὰ νοσσία* F^a 8 *τὰ παιδία*] *οἱ νεοττοί* O *καὶ – νεφέλην*] om. M (hab. *Γ*) *πέτεται* O *καὶ*[3]] om. R 9 *μετὰ – αὐτοῦ*] *τύπτει αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν πτερῶν* M *πτερῶν* Z O *ἑαυτοῦ* cat Ps. XIX 9/10 *διὰ – νεφέλης*] om. M (hab *Γ*) 10 *ἐπιστάζῃ* M, *ἐπιτάσσει* R *ἐπιστάζει – ἐγείρονται*] *ἐπιρραίνει τὸ αἷμα τοῖς νεοττοῖς καὶ ζωογονεῖ τούτους* F^a *τούτοις*] *τούτω* Z, *αὐτὰ τοῦτο* cat Ps. XIX *οὖν*] *δὲ* R *πελεκᾶς* R cat Ps. XIX, *πελεκὰς* Z M (sine acc. M) post *πελεκὰν* add. *οὗτος* F^a 11 *δὲ*] om. R *παιδία*] *νοσσία* F^a *εὐα* (sic) R post *Εὔα* add. *καὶ* O M 12 *αὐτῶν* O F^a, om. M ante *ὁ παράδεισος* inser. *ἐστιν* F^a *ὁ δὲ*] *καὶ ὁ* M *ὁ – διάβολος*] *εἰς τὸν ἀποστάτην διάβολον* F^a 13 *Ἐνεφύσησεν – πρωτοπλάστοις*] *ἐνεφύσησε γὰρ τοῖς προτοπλάστοις διὰ τῆς παρακοῆς* M (*Γ* = lectio communis) 14 *γεγόνασιν – ἁμαρτίᾳ*] *γεγόνασι τῇ ἁμαρτία νεκροὶ* F^a ante *τῇ* add. *ἐν* Z *γοῦν*] *οὖν* R M *ἡμῶν* post *θεὸς* trsp. cat Ps. XIX 14/15 *διὰ – ἀγάπην* post *σταυροῦ* (l. 15) trsp. M (*Γ* = lectio communis) 15 post *ἀγάπην* add. *αὐτοῦ* F^a *ὑψοῦται*] *ὑψωθεὶς* M (*Γ* = lectio communis)

πλευρὰν διὰ τῆς νεφέλης τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ζωὴν ἡμῖν ἐδωρήσατο τὴν αἰώνιον.

16 *νεφέλης* post *πνεύματος* trsp. M (*Γ* = lectio communis) *τὴν]* om. M (*Γ* = lectio communis).

Traduction

Que signifie ce qui est dit au psaume 101 : «*Je ressemble au pélican du désert ?*» (Ps. 101, 3)

Ce pélican est un oiseau ; le serpent est très hostile à ses petits. Qu'invente-t-il donc ? Il construit son nid dans les hauteurs, en l'entourant de tous côtés à cause du serpent. Que fait donc le serpent aux mauvaises machinations ? Il regarde attentivement de quelle direction souffle le vent et de là il insuffle son venin sur les petits et ils meurent. Le pélican arrive alors et il voit que ses petits sont morts ; il aperçoit un nuage et il s'envole dans les hauteurs, et, de ses ailes,il se frappe les flancs et il en sort du sang ; à travers le nuage il coule sur ceux-ci (ses petits) et ils se réveillent. Le pélican est donc interprété comme étant le Seigneur ; ses enfants, Adam et Ève, ce sont notre nature, son nid est le paradis, et le serpent est le diable apostat. Le serpent, principe de tout mal, par la désobéissance a donc soufflé sur les premiers hommes et ils sont morts par le péché (*Eph.*, 2, 1). Alors, notre Seigneur et Dieu à cause de son amour pour nous est élevé sur la croix vénérable et, frappé au flanc, par la nuée de l'Esprit Saint il nous a donné la vie éternelle.

Comment se fait-il que ce texte se trouve à la fois dans certains manuscrits du *Physiologus* et dans les *Quaestiones et dubia* ? Nous croyons pouvoir écarter tout de suite la possibilité que Maxime l'ait emprunté au *Physiologus* : la tradition de ce dernier ouvrage est en effet explicite sur le caractère interpolé de la «seconde nature du pélican». Il reste alors deux possibilités : ou bien l'interpolateur du *Physiologus* s'est inspiré de l'ouvrage de Maxime, ou bien tous deux ont utilisé, indépendamment l'un de l'autre, la même source. Cette dernière supposition se heurte immédiatement à deux réflexions d'ordre général : l'existence de ce modèle commun s'avère une pure conjecture – ajoutons que la littérature au sujet du pélican n'est point

abondante [14] –, et d'autre part, tant Maxime que l'interpolateur du *Physiologus* auraient reproduit leur source avec une extrême fidélité.

En outre, il existe, croyons-nous, un argument plus décisif, qui permet d'écarter définitivement l'hypothèse d'un *fons communis*. Il est fourni par la construction du verbe *ἐχθραίνω* avec le génitif. La tournure nous semble de date assez récente, et elle témoigne de la tendance qui finalement a mené à la substitution du génitif au datif en grec moderne [15] ; certains copistes atticisants ont d'ailleurs été choqués de cet emploi et ils n'ont pas hésité à corriger leur modèle (cf. apparat critique) [16]. Le progrès du génitif au dépens du datif imposé par la grammaire classique, se dégage également d'autres passages des *Quaestiones et dubia* [17], de sorte que cette construction ne peut être réduite à un cas isolé, voire suspect : elle a toute chance de remonter à l'auteur lui-même. Sans vouloir nier l'existence de ce phénomène chez d'autres écrivains de l'époque byzantine, la présence dans le *Physiologus* du génitif régi par *ἐχθραίνω* nous semble assez significative et difficile à expliquer si on n'accepte pas que l'interpolateur du *Physiologus* a tiré son texte d'un manuscrit des *Quaestiones et dubia*.

En comparant le contenu de l'interpolation, c'est-à-dire de la version maximienne, avec celui du texte original du *Physiologus* (chapitre 4, *Περὶ πελεκάνου*) [18], on remarque des ressemblances assez frappantes, mais également des différences notables. Ainsi l'amour paternel du pélican constitue le point de départ commun. Le serpent, par contre, n'apparaît pas dans le récit original du *Physiologus*, où,

(14) Selon F. Sbordone (*op. cit.*, p. 16) il n'existe pas de véritable antécédent à ce chapitre dans la littérature antérieure au *Physiologus*.

(15) Cf. J. Humbert, *La disparition du datif en grec du Ier au Xe siècle* (Collection linguistique, 33), Paris, 1930, passim, et A. N. Jannaris, *An Historical Greek Grammar chiefly of the Attic Dialect* ..., London, 1897, § 1350.

(16) On remarquera aussi que l'expression *πολὺ ἐχθραίνει τῶν νεοττῶν αὐτοῦ* a été changée en *ἐχθρωδῶς τοῖς νεοσσοῖς αὐτοῦ διάκειται* par le copiste de l'*Ambros. C 255 inf.* ; cf. F. Sbordone, *op. cit.*, p. 313 (apparat critique, *ad locum*).

(17) Voici quelques exemples de cette construction (nous renvoyons chaque fois au folio et à la ligne du *Vat. gr. 1703* : *ἁρμόδιον τῶν εἰσαγομένων* (f. 58^r^, l. 18), *ἐπιτέρπεται τῶν μουσικῶν μελῶν* (f. 7^r^, l. 22), *ψιχίων παρεικάζεται* (f. 58^r^, l. 23), *οἱ τῶν ἀποστόλων* ... *ἰσοστάσιοι* (f. 64^v^, ll. 12-13), *συναποθανεῖν* ... *τῶν ἀλλοφύλων* (f. 25^v^, l. 28), *τῶν αἰσθητῶν συμπλεκόμεναι* (f. 7^v^, ll. 8-9), *συνάπτων* ... *τῆς νομικῆς* ... *ἐντολῆς* (f. 52^v^, ll. 11-13).

(18) F. Sbordone, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-19.

assez paradoxalement, ce sont les parents eux-mêmes qui tuent leurs petits, après, il est vrai, avoir reçu des coups de leur part. Émus de pitié, ils pleurent pendant trois jours, et le troisième jour – allusion évidente à la résurrection du Seigneur – la mère ouvre ses flancs et son sang rend la vie aux petits. L'interprétation spirituelle de l'histoire est rattachée à *Isaïe*, 1, 2 («*J'ai élevé et fait grandir des fils, mais ils se sont révoltés contre moi*») ; selon le «physiologue» nous avons réellement frappé le Créateur en adorant «*la créature de préférence au Créateur*» (*Rom.*, 1, 25). Pour cette raison, notre Sauveur est monté vers l'*ὕψωμα τοῦ σταυροῦ*, et, ayant ouvert son flanc, il a fait couler le sang et l'eau en vue de notre Rédemption et de la vie éternelle : *τὸ μὲν αἷμα διὰ τὸν εἰπόντα «λαβὼν τὸ ποτήριον εὐλόγησε», τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ ἐπὶ τὸ βάπτισμα τῆς μετανοίας*.

Il nous semble que l'allégorie à laquelle s'est livré l'auteur du bestiaire, est légèrement forcée (19) et qu'elle présente quelques points faibles. Ainsi il y a le fait que les enfants sont tués par leurs propres parents – une donnée qui ne se laisse d'ailleurs pas traduire au niveau anagogique ; ensuite, la conclusion mettant l'accent sur le repentir de l'homme est un peu inattendue là où il y avait lieu de glorifier la philantropie divine. Les accords sur le plan du contenu et du vocabulaire nous incitent à croire que S. Maxime connaissait la version du *Physiologus* ; d'autre part les imperfections du récit ne lui auront certainement pas échappé, et, en véritable maître de l'exégèse *κατ'ἀναγωγήν*, il s'est efforcé de consolider le parallélisme entre l'histoire du pélican et celle de la nature humaine en quête de son salut.

Nous ne pouvons terminer ces quelques alinéas concernant la «seconde nature du pélican», sans attirer l'attention sur la présence de notre texte dans l'adaptation du *Physiologus* en vers politiques, conservée dans le *Par. gr. 929* (XVe s. ; pp. 379-381) et dans le *Par. gr. 390* (XVIe s. ; ff. 94-95) ; cette version poétique a été publiée en 1873 (20). Nous mentionnons également le *codex Athon., Iberorum*

(19) U. Treu a constaté une défaillance semblable dans la logique de l'allégorie de la vipère ; cf. U. Treu, *Otterngezücht. Ein patristischer Beitrag zur Quellenkunde des Physiologus. Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, L (1959), p. 117.

(20) Ch. Gidel-E. Legrand, *Étude sur un poëme grec inédit intitulé Ο ΦΥΣΙΟΛΟΓΟΣ*. Annuaire de l'association pour l'encouragement des études grecques en France, 7e année, 1873, pp. 268-270 (texte grec dû à E. Legrand).

330, une copie du XVIIIe s. de la première édition du *Physiologus*, due à Ponce de Leon (21) ; aux ff. 80^v-81^r (22) le copiste y a ajouté une *Ἑτέρα ἱστορία περὶ τοῦ πελεκᾶνος*, qui, nonobstant l'addition d'éléments nouveaux, semble bien remonter à la version maximienne de l'allégorie.

Le cas qui vient de nous occuper ne constitue pas un exemple unique : un autre fragment provenant des *Quaestiones et dubia* s'est également infiltré, directement ou indirectement, dans certains manuscrits du *Physiologus*. Ainsi quelques témoins de la recension byzantine – tous copiés au XVIe s. – proposent une digression au sujet du héron, qui se rapproche incontestablement d'une *ἐρωταπόκρισις* des *Quaestiones et dubia* ; il s'agit du *Ven. Marc. gr. IV-XXXV, coll. 1383*, du *Vat. Ottob. gr. 354*, du *Vat. Barber. gr. 438* et du *Hierosolym. Patr. 208*. Les trois premiers manuscrits que F. Sbordone désigne par le sigle commun H, font partie de la quatrième recension du troisième type de la tradition du *Physiologus* byzantin (23) ; ils proviennent sans doute du même atelier et il est probable que le *Marcianus* a servi de modèle aux deux autres (24). Le *codex Hierosolym. Patr. 208* offre un texte mixte (25). La particularité de ces témoins consiste, entre autres, en un chapitre supplémentaire, consacré à la nature du héron ; puisque son intérêt pour nous réside uniquement dans les détails physiologiques, nous ne reproduirons pas l'explication moralisante. Voici donc le début du texte tel qu'on le lit dans l'édition de F. Sbordone (26) :

Περὶ τοῦ ἐρωδιοῦ

Τοῦτο τὸ ὄρνεον τοσαύτῃ σωφροσύνῃ συζῇ, ὥστε ἡνίκα πρὸς συνουσίαν ἔρχεσθαι μέλλει, τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας πενθεῖν · τότε, ἀφ' οὗ πενθήσῃ ταύτας τὰς τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας, ἔρχεται εἰς συνουσίαν μετὰ τοῦ θήλεος.

(21) PONCE DE LEON, *Sancti patris nostri Epiphanii, episcopi Constantiae Cypri, ad Physiologum. Eiusdem in die festo Palmarum sermo.* Antverpiae, 1588 (l'histoire du pélican se trouve aux pp. 30-31).

(22) F. SBORDONE, *op. cit.*, p. XXIX ; on peut lire le texte de l'interpolation dans le même ouvrage à la p. 314.

(23) F. SBORDONE, *op. cit.*, pp. LXXXVII-LXXXVIII.

(24) F. SBORDONE, *op. cit.*, pp. XXIV-XXV.

(25) F. SBORDONE, *op. cit.*, pp. LXXXVIII-LXXXIX.

(26) F. SBORDONE, *op. cit.*, p. 319.

Ὅμοιον περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐρωδιοῦ. ποιῆσαν οὖν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦτο τὸ ὄρνεον, πενθεῖ ἄλλας τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας διὰ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἣν ἐποίησεν. Ἕτερον περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐρωδιοῦ. τὴν καλιὰν αὐτοῦ τοῦτο τὸ ὄρνεον πήγνυσιν ἐν δένδροις ὑψηλοῖς, ἔνθα μὴ ὑποσκιάζεται ὑπό τινος, ἀλλὰ καθαρὸν τὸν ἀέρα ἔχῃ. κάτωθεν δὲ τῆς καλιᾶς αὐτοῦ ποιοῦσι καὶ ἄλλα πετεινὰ καλιάς, ἵνα ὥσι πεφυλαγμένα ὑπ᾽αὐτοῦ, καθώς φησιν ὁ προφήτης Δαυίδ · «τοῦ ἐρωδιοῦ ἡ κατοικία ἡγεῖται αὐτά».

L'accord entre cet extrait et la question 30 (*PG* 90, 809 B_{11}-$812A_{10}$) des *Quaestiones et dubia* telles que nous les connaissons par l'édition de Fr. Combefis, est très net. La question ne s'est conservée que dans cette recension ; elle est également attestée, sans nom d'auteur toutefois, dans la chaîne du type XV (selon G. Karo et I. Lietzmann) [27] sur le psautier ; nous avons consulté ce commentaire dans le *codex Par. gr. 146* (xe s.), dans lequel notre fragment se trouve au f. 79^r. Nous en donnons ici le texte sur base du témoignage de Z, R, O et cat Ps. XV.

1 *Τί σημαίνει · «τοῦ ἐρῳδιοῦ ἡ κατοικία ἡγεῖται αὐτῶν»* (a).

Ἐρῳδιόν φασιν ὄρνεον εἶναι, τοσαύτῃ δὲ σωφροσύνῃ συζῆν ὥστε, ἡνίκα πρὸς συνουσίαν συνέρχεσθαι μέλλει, τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας πενθεῖν καὶ πάλιν μετὰ ταῦτα ἄλλας τεσσαράκοντα. Τὴν δὲ καλιὰν πήγνυσιν ἐν τοῖς
5 *δένδροις ἔνθα μὴ ἐπισκιάζεται ὑπό τινος ἀλλὰ καθαρὸν τὸν ἀέρα ἔχει. Σημαίνει δὲ διὰ τούτων τὴν σωφροσύνην · αὐτὴ γὰρ ἡγεῖται πασῶν τῶν ἀρετῶν · ἀποδιάκειται δὲ καὶ τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἀπὸ μηδενὸς σκιαζομένη τῶν προσκαίρων · ὁ τεσσαρακοστὸς γὰρ ἀριθμὸς τὴν ἑκάστου τῶν τεσσάρων στοιχείων ἐμπεριέχει τελείωσιν.*

(a) *Ps. 103, 17.*

1 ante *Τί* inser. *πεῦσις* R, *ἐρώτησις* Z O *Τί – σημαίνει]* *τὸ δὲ* cat Ps. XV *σημαίνει]* *ἐστι* O ante *τοῦ* add. *τὸ* O *τοῦ]* *τὸ* R *αὐτῶν]* *αὐτῶι · ἐρωδιοῦ ἡ κατοικία* cat Ps. XV 2 ante *Ἐρῳδιόν* inser *ἀπόκρισις* R Z O *Ἐρῳδιόν]* om. cat Ps. XV *ὄρνεόν ἐστι* R *συζῆ* R 3 *ἔρχεσθαι* cat Ps. XV *πενθεῖ* R 4 *ταύτας* O post *τεσσαράκοντα* add. *ἡμέρας* R 5 *ἐπισκιάζηται* O $^{ut\ vid}$ cat Ps. XV *ἔχειν* cat Ps. XV 6 *τούτων]* *τοῦτο* R *αὐτη* R, *αὐτῆ* Z, *αὕτη* O cat Ps. XV 7 *καταδιάκειται* R *δὲ]* om. cat Ps. XV *ὑπὸ* O *μηδενὸς]* *μηνὸς* R Z (sed sup. l. corr. pr. man.) cat Ps. XV, *τῶν τεσσαράκοντα μὴ* O 8 *τεσσαρακοστὸς]* *μὴν* (sic) cat Ps. XV 9 *ἐνπεριέχει* cat Ps. XV, *περιέχει* O

(27) G. Karo-I. Lietzmann, *op. cit.* (sub n. 13), pp. 43-47.

Traduction

Que signifie : «Le nid du héron les domine ?» (*Ps. 103, 17*).

On dit que le héron est un oiseau, et qu'il vit de manière tellement chaste, qu'avant d'avoir des rapports sexuels, il pleure pendant 40 jours, et, après coup, à nouveau pendant 40 jours. Il construit son nid dans les arbres, là où rien ne le couvre d'ombre, mais où il a l'air pur. Par là, il indique la chasteté : c'est elle en effet, qui commande toutes les vertus ; elle a aussi un dégoût des choses sensibles, se soustrayant à toute ombre du temporaire ; le nombre quarante comprend en effet la perfection de chacun des quatre éléments.

La phrase finale nous introduit en pleine spéculation arithmétique, et on sait que S. Maxime avait pour elle un goût assez prononcé [28]. Dans le cas qui nous occupe, il a subtilement entrelacé le thème de la chasteté à celui de la renonciation au monde sensible – souvent [29] symbolisé par le nombre quatre à cause des quatre éléments (terre, eau, feu, air) – en assignant une durée de quarante jours au remord du héron. Que l'interpolateur ait été bouleversé par ce raisonnement audacieux, et qu'il y ait apporté quelques modifications afin de rendre la situation plus concrète, ne change en rien notre hypothèse concernant sa dépendance des *Quaestiones et dubia*.

Certes, les solutions que nous avons formulées ne portent que sur des problèmes mineurs dans la tradition du *Physiologus* ; néanmoins nous avons tenu à les communiquer, jugeant tout apport utile, particulièrement dans le cas d'un texte, dont on ne sait encore de manière certaine ni la date de composition, ni l'auteur, ni même s'il a vu le jour dans des milieux orthodoxes.

J. H. DECLERCK.

(28) W. VOLKER, *Maximus Confessor als Meister des geistlichen Lebens*, Wiesbaden, 1965, p. 281.

(29) Par ex. *Quaestiones ad Thalassium*, 4 (*PG* 90, $276D_{7-9}$) et 27 (*PG* 90, $353D_{2-4}$).

GLI AFFRESCHI DELLA CHIESA DI SAN MAURO PRESSO GALLIPOLI NOTE PRELIMINARI (*)

Nell'ambito della pittura «bizantina» del Salento il frammentario ciclo di affreschi conservato in precario stato nella piccola chiesa di San Mauro, un tempo inserita in un complesso monastico di rito greco di cui non rimane traccia, occupa uno spazio di notevole interesse sia per il momento storico in cui fu eseguito sia per la qualità della materia pittorica. La chiesa e il monastero sono stati sempre ritenuti dipendenza di un monastero italo-greco di Gallipoli, precisamente Santa Maria delle Servine (1), di cui non rimane traccia

(*) Il Centro Studi sulla Civiltà bizantina nell'Italia meridionale, con sede a Bari, ha previsto un'ampia pubblicazione storico-artistica sull'argomento, la quale potrà iniziare solo in seguito al restauro degli affreschi, il cui precario stato preoccupa notevolmente.

La situazione si evolve progressivamente in particolare a causa di alcuni fattori ambientali per cui, per l'infiltrazione e condensazione dell'umidità, si altera la pellicola pittorica che vien a distaccarsi dal supporto, polverizzandosi. La gravità dell'attuale situazione può misurarsi confrontando tra loro le fotografie eseguite in anni differenti : affreschi pressochè integri nel 1975 sono oggi di difficile lettura. Si rende quindi necessario un intervento immediato di restauro su tale ciclo di affreschi e in particolare di pulitura e consolidamento delle parti sollevate, nè si può trascurare l'ambiente pertinente, anch'esso in precarie condizioni. Inoltre, data la posizione isolata della chiesa, dovrebbero essere previste tutte quelle misure di sicuressa atte a preservare da ogni tipo di vandalismo questo documento che rappresenta un *unicum* nella produzione artistica della regione, escludendo a mio avviso ogni operazione di distacco degli affreschi : quest'ultima infatti, anche in casi di estrema necessità, è una violenza al monumento e alla storia stessa. Durante l'ultimo corso di studi sulla Civiltà bizantina (Bari, 25 settembre-8 ottobre 1978) è stata inviata una lettera, firmata da tutti i partecipanti, alla Sovrintendenza ai Monumenti di Bari in cui, dopo aver sottolineato il valore storico-artistico del monumento, è stata avanzata una specifica richiesta per l'immediato inizio di una campagna di restauro degli affreschi di San Mauro.

(1) B. Ravenna, *Memorie istoriche della città di Gallipoli*, Napoli, 1836, pp. 421-24 ; G. Barrella, *L'antica abbazia di San Mauro in agro di Gallipoli*, Lecce, 1924 ; G. Scrimieri, *L'abbazia di San Mauro presso Gallipoli*, in *La Zagaglia*, 5, 1968, pp. 3-26, a pag. 13.

alcuna nella città, ma l'ordine dei Serviti o Servi di Maria risulta fondato in Toscana solo nel XIV sec. : in realtà la nostra badia era in origine alle dipendenze di un grande monastero del Salento, con ogni probabilità a mio avviso Santa Maria di Nardò che, nato di rito greco, passò ai Benedettini durante il pontificato di Urbano II (1088-92) (2). Al tempo di Alessandro III (1159-81) San Mauro pagava infatti le decime all'abate di Santa Maria di Nardò, fatto che sottolinea i legami di interdipendenza tra i due monasteri : questa ipotesi va tuttavia ulteriormente documentata (3).

La prima menzione specifica relativa ad un *ναὸν τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος Μαύρου ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἀναφοραρίῳ* (4) è conservata in una delle pergamene in lingua greca pubblicata dal Trinchera (5), datata al mese di maggio 1149 indict. XII : nella stessa raccolta troviamo una serie di notizie relative all'edificio in esame fino all'anno 1227, ma non vi è cenno alcuno alla decorazione interna. La data 1149 è quindi da considerarsi un *terminus ante quem* per l'istallazione dell'insediamento monastico e in particolare per la piccola chiesa (fig. 1) che per la struttura e determinati elementi semantici si colloca positivamente in questo momento cronologico. L'edificio è qualificato dalla presenza di una volta a botte su pilastri nella navata centrale e volte a semibotti rampanti nelle navatelle : la zona del naos è sopraelevata rispetto al rimanente piano di calpestio e vi si accede per mezzo di alcuni gradini (6). Gli elementi distintivi, cioè volta a botte, semibotti rampanti e pilastri, sono peculiari di alcuni edifici dell'area salentina, p. e. San Salvatore presso Gallipoli, Santa Maria della Croce a Casaranello, San Giovanni di Patù ecc., che probabilmente trovano i loro prototipi nella vicina Grecia, dove in alcune zone si sono conservati a lungo (p. e. in Epiro). Ma è

(2) P. F. KEHR-W. HOLTZMANN, *Italia Pontificia*, Berlino, 1962, IX, pag. 413.

(3) *Ibidem*, pag. 419.

(4) Il termine *τόπος ἀναφορὰριος* è qui usato come toponimo in quanto indica il luogo ove sorge la chiesa, in posizione elevata rispetto al territorio circostante. Per l'interpretazione corretta del termine desidero ringraziare cordialmente il prof. A. Guillou.

(5) F. TRINCHERA, *Syllabus graecarum membranarum*, Napoli, 1865, pag. 514.

(6) Gli altari sono tre, uno in ciascuna delle absidi, per le necessità del rito bizantino e in particolare del Grande Esodo durante il quale l'altare della prothesis giuoca un ruolo preminente.

soprattutto la decorazione interna che fa della chiesa un vero *unicum* nell'ambito della tradizione pittorica della Puglia «bizantina» – tranne brevi note, gli affreschi sono tuttora inediti – (7). Nella zona settentrionale della navata centrale si sono conservati i brani più ampi di affresco, una serie di scene cristologiche poste in *consecutio* storica : per la parete meridionale un esiguo e pressochè illeggibile brano mi ha consentito di ricostruire con una certa sicurezza tutte le scene iniziali del ciclo. Si tratta dei resti di una figura con cartiglio in greco su cui si legge : *γτο ... / φος ... γ / καὶ γῆν ἐστε / ρέοσε*», indubbiamente la profetessa Anna, uno dei personaggi qualificanti la scena della Presentazione al Tempio, che in genere regge un cartiglio con il testo di una profezia il testo completo sarebbe : "*τοῦτο τὸ βρέφος οὐρανὸν καὶ γῆν ἐστερέωσε*" : la scena immediatamente seguente, che si può ricostruire dall'ardua lettura dell'esiguo brano, è il Battesimo di Cristo. Sulla parete settentrionale le scene superstiti sono le seguenti : Ultima Cena (8), Bacio di Giuda (fig. 2), Crocifissione, Pie Donne al Sepolcro. Le rimanenti due scene che in origine concludevano il ciclo cristologico sono oggi scomparse, ma

(7) A. MEDEA, *Gli affreschi delle cripte eremitiche pugliesi*, Roma, 1939, pp. 244-46 : A. PRANDI, *Il Salento provincia dell'arte bizantina*, Atti del Convegno internazionale sul tema : «L'Oriente Cristiano nella storia della civiltà, Roma, 1964, pp. 671-711, alle pp. 692-97 : A. GUILLOU, *Art et religion dans l'Italia grecque médiévale*, Enquête, in : «*La Chiesa greca in Italia dall'VIIIe al XVIe sec.*», Bari, 1969, II, pp. 725-58 : ID., *Italie méridionale byzantine ou Byzantins en Italie méridionale ?*, in *Byz.*, XLIV, 1974, pp. 152-90 : M. FALLA CASTELFRANCHI, *Gli affreschi della chiesa di San Mauro presso Gallipoli*, comunicazione inedita al XIVe Convegno di ricercatori sulle origini del Cristianesimo in Puglia, Gallipoli, 1975 : EADEM, *L'arte nei monasteri «basiliani» nell'Italia meridionale*, in *Antiqua*, 6, 1977, pp. 19-31, e quindi V. PACE, La pittura delle origini in Puglia, in AA.VV., La Puglia tra Bisanzio e l'Occidente, Milano 1980, pp. 317-400.

(8) A. MEDEA, *Affreschi*, pp. 244-46, ha identificato questa scena, per altro di chiara lettura, con una koimesis. Se nel programma iconografico di San Mauro era prevista la presenza di questa scena, probabilmente a mio avviso avrebbe dovuto essere ubicata nella controfacciata, al di sopra della porta d'ingresso. Tale ubicazione è un fatto pressochè costante nei programmi bizantini in ispecie a partire dal XII sec. e molto probabilmente non è casuale. La koimesis infatti è un'immagine bisemica che, in aggiunta al significato primario, si assunse dagli apocrifi quello di parusia : la porzione di muro interessata è in genere riservata alla raffigurazione del Giudizio Finale di cui la scena della koimesis potrebbe considerarsi a mio avviso una sorta di *imago brevis*.

probabilmente l'ultima era una Anastasis, scena in relazione con l'immagine del profeta David, raffigurato entro il clipeo immediatamente sovrastante la porzione di muro interessata.

Al di sopra di queste scene corre una splendida fascia con nove busti di profeti entro clipei, uniti fra loro da tralci. Con un largo margine di sicurezza ho potuto identificare otto tra i profeti rappresentati, à cioè nell'ordine : Gioele, Abdia (fig. 3), Isaia, Mosè, Zaccaria ..., Giona, Ezechiele ..., David. Probabilmente una analoga serie di otto profeti correva al di sopra delle scene iniziali del ciclo, ma di questa non è rimasta traccia alcuna, come pure nelle navate laterali, verisimilmente affrescate con scene del Vecchio Testamento.

Al di sotto delle scene cristologiche sono campite, nei sottarchi degli archi, una serie di figure di santi orientali : sulla parete settentrionale, nei triangoli di risulta della prima coppia di arcate, si possono riconoscere le belle immagini di due evangelisti non contraddistinte da alcun *titulus*. Il primo è sicuramente, per alcuni elementi iconografici, San Matteo : ho identificato il secondo con San Luca per mezzo della lettura del cartiglio tenuto da una figura stante posta esattamente sotto l'evangelista. Il cartiglio contiene infatti un frammento dell'epistola di San Paolo ai Galati (4, 4) : *Ἀδελφοί, ὅτε ἦλθεν / τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ χρόνου / ἐξαπέστειλε [ὁ Θεὸς] τὸν / υἱὸν αὐτοῦ* ... (fig. 4) : il santo è dunque San Paolo, da cui risulta pacifica l'identificazione dell'evangelista con San Luca, compagno e discepolo di San Paolo, raffigurati insieme anche in alcuni codici miniati quali p.e. il greco 101, codice datato alla fine del XIII sec. dal Lazarev (9), contenente un Vangelo con le Epistole e gli Atti degli Apostoli, conservato nella Biblioteca Pubblica di Leningrado. Le rimanenti immagini di evangelisti con tutta sicurezza erano campite sulla parete meridionale, esattamente di fronte alle immagini di San Matteo e San Luca, come dimostrano i resti di un suppedaneo riccamente decorato sotto il quale è affrescata una figura il cui labile stato di conservazione comporta una difficile lettura : a mio giudizio si tratta di une raffigurazione di San Pietro, facilmente identificabile dai tratti somatici del volto. L'evangelista sovrastante, di cui non rimane che il suppedaneo, con molte probabilità era San Marco,

(9) V. LAZAREV, *Storia della pittura bizantina*, Torino, 1967, pag. 326, con la bibliografia precedente.

strettamente legato a San Pietro e da quest'ultimo chiamato anche «figlio», uno dei primi ad essere battezzato dal santo: anche l'accostamento Pietro-Marco è contenuto nel *gr.* 101 di Leningrado e ancora p.e. nel *codex* 61, fol. 112^{v} del monastero di Koutloumousiou (Athos), del XIII sec. [10]. Per esclusione l'ultimo degli evangelisti da identificare sulla parete meridionale, di cui non rimane traccia alcuna, è San Giovanni.

Come si può notare la successione degli evangelisti non segue uno schema preciso – in linee generali gli evangelisti sono disposti in ordine storico e spesso in senso antiorario –: non abbiamo al riguardo regole severamente cristallizzate e anche in cicli quali p.e. Santa Sofia di Trebisonda, le figure degli evangelisti nei pennacchi sono distribuite senza ordine come a San Mauro.

'E proprio da uno schema a pianta centrale che fu esemplata a mio avviso l'ubicazione degli evangelisti nel programma iconografico della chiesa di San Mauro: molto probabilmente si adattò ad una chiesa preesistente a pianta longitudinale, appunto San Mauro, il programma decorativo concepito per un edificio a pianta centrale dove risultava codificata già da alcuni secoli la presenza costante degli evangelisti nei pennacchi [11], in relazione simbolica con l'immagine unificante del Cristo nella cupola. In San Mauro gli evangelisti furono quindi distribuiti nei triangoli di risulta delle arcate in quanto tale elemento architettonico è più vicino di altri all'idea del pennacchio a superficie sferica.

In questo ciclo dettagliatamente programmato le figure di santi orientali campite negli intradossi degli archi concludono e completano la visione unitaria che qualifica l'insieme. Ho identificato tra gli altri San Macario l'Egiziano, Sant'Onufrio, San Luciano di Antiochia [12] (fig. 5), San Teodoro Tirone, San Gioannicio (fig. 6), San

(10) S. M. PELEKANIDIS-P. C. CARISTOU-Ch. TSIOUMIS-S. N. KADAS, *The Treasures of Mount Athos, Illuminated Manuscripts*, I, Athens, 1974, pag. 243, fig. 303 e commento a pag. 453.

(11) S. DUFRENNE, *Les programmes iconographiques des coupoles dans les églises du monde byzantin et post-byzantin*, in *L'Information d'Histoire de l'Art*, X, 5, nov.-déc. 1965, pp. 185-99.

(12) Non è sicuramente San Leucio di Brindisi in quanto nel programma di San Mauro sono rappresentati soltanto alcuni santi del sinassario bizantino e in ogni caso San Luciano porta la croce del martirio, mentre San Leucio è un santo confessore.

Clemente di Ochrida (fig. 7), Sant'Eumenio ..., quasi tutti santi monaci orientali o legati al monachesimo. Che il programma iconografico fosse rigorosissimo risulta da una serie di connessioni iconologiche che si possono individuare senza grandi difficoltà : p.e. il profeta Isaia reca un cartiglio con la seguente scritta : « *Ὡς πρόβα / τον ἐπιφανὴς ἤχ/θη, [ὁ κύριος] καὶ ὡς ἀμνὸς / ἐναντίον*» (*Isaia*, 53, 7) [13]. Il contenuto del cartiglio rinvia alle scene immediatamente sottostanti il clipeo con il busto del profeta e precisamente al Bacio di Giuda e alla Crocifissione : del resto il testo del cartiglio è stato tratto dalla parte delle profezie di Isaia che riguarda direttamente il sacrificio di Cristo. Così più avanti nel cartiglio retto dal profeta Giona si legge : « *Ἐβόησα / ἐν θλίψει / μου πρὸς κύριον / τὸν Θεόν μου καὶ ἐισήκουσέ μου*» (*Giona*, 2, 3) : la scena sottostante è quella delle Pie Donne al Sepolcro.

Della decorazione originaria dell'abside – l'affresco attuale con Cristo tra due angeli inginocchiati risale probabilmente al XVI sec. – è rimasta soltanto una figura con un cartiglio che attualmente, dato il precario stato degli affreschi, è pressochè illeggibile. Con l'ausilio di una fotografia eseguita alcuni anni fa ho potuto leggere il contenuto del cartiglio, che è il seguente : «*Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡ/μῶν οὗ τὸ κρά/τος ἀνείκαστον / καὶ ἡ δόξα ἀκα/τάληπτος / οὗ τὸ ἔλ[εος]*». Il testo è tratto dalla preghiera detta della prima antifona nelle liturgie di San Giovanni Crisostomo e di San Basilio [14] : dal tipo iconografico si può pacificamente identificare questa immagine con San Basilio, che molto probabilmente era accompagnato da tre Padri della Chiesa le cui immagini sono oggi scomparse.

Per quanto riguarda le decorazione originaria del catino, considerato il programma globale del ciclo la cui lettura iniziava e si concludeva nell'abside e determinate tradizioni regionali, si potrebbe ipotizzare la presenza di una Deésis forse con San Mauro al posto di San Giovanni Battista, caso che non sarebbe isolato : in Puglia inoltre il tema della Deésis ricorre in modo particolare nella decorazione delle absidi [15].

(13) Il termine *ὁ κὐριος* è fuori testo. Per il valido aiuto prestatomi nella lettura delle epigrafi in greco ringrazio affettuosamente l'amico prof. G. I. Passarelli.

(14) F. E BRIGHTMANN, *Liturgies eastern and western*, Oxford, 1846 : HIERATIKON, Roma, 1950, pp. 109-69.

(15) Cf. ad esempio l'abside della vicina chiesa di San Salvatore, che presenta numerose affinità con San Mauro Sul tema della Deésis v. M ANDALORO, *Note sui*

La lettura stilistica del ciclo, cui è strettamente connesso il problema della datazione, non esistendo al riguardo dati precisi nelle fonti letterarie e nel monumento stesso, è piuttosto complessa. Vi si possono enucleare a mio avviso alcuni elementi già quasi paleologhi, come p.e. il modo di concepire lo spazio in particolare nelle scene degli evangelisti, con giuochi architettonici che suggeriscono una certa profondità [16] e il gusto di collocare l'oggetto in questo spazio secondo un interesse che non investe l'oggetto in quanto tale ma lo sublima ai fini di suggerire determinate angolazioni e respiri spaziali [17]. Un altro elemento che condurrebbe a datare il ciclo verso la fine del XIII sec. è il tipo di trono su cui siede l'evangelista Luca, affine ai troni delle famose Madonne di Washington e di due immagini musive provenienti dalla chiesa di San Gregorio a Messina, ora presso il Museo Nazionale di questa città, datate dal Lazarev al pieno XIII sec. [18]. Secondo il Lazarev questo tipo particolare di trono, peculiare del mondo bizantino, appare non prima del XIII sec. ma si codifica in modo precipuo nel XIV sec. (Kariye Cami, Mistra, ecc.). Accanto a questi elementi collocabili probabilmente verso la fine del XIII sec., l'impostazione generale di alcune scene e il modo di concepire la figura, p.e. le belle immagini dei profeti, rese con pennellate morbide, sfumate, in ispecie i volti, e prive di quel linearismo nervoso proprio a numerosi cicli pittorici paleologhi (per un concetto spesso anticlassico della figura umana), consiglierebbero di anticipare la data di due o tre decenni, benchè la datazione alla fine del XIII sec. sembri, ad una prima analisi, la più idonea. Il fatto che sia oltremodo arduo istituire raffronti precisi con

temi iconografici della Deésis e dell'Aghiosoritissa, RINASA, NS XVII, 1970, pp. 85-153.

(16) Le spazio è in ogni caso sempre bidimensionale. Sul problema dello spazio nell'arte paleologa v. T. VELMANS, *Le rôle du décor architectural et la représentation de l'espace dans la peinture des Paléologues*, in *Cahiers Archéologiques*, 14, 1964, pp. 183-95.

(17) Per talune preziose indicazioni al proposito ringrazio cordialmente Mme T. Velmans.

Anche la scena della Crocifissione, affollata di personaggi che partecipano emotivamente all'evento, può rientrare in queste momento cronologico.

(18) V. LAZAREV, *Early italo-byzantine Painting in Sicily*, BM, 63, 1933, pp. 279-87 : anche in numerosi codici miniati ricorre la rappresentazione di troni di questo tipo.

i diversi cicli pittorici bizantini del XIII sec. osta vieppiù alla formulazione di una ipotesi di datazione abbastanza circoscritta [19].

Un campo di indagine che va profondamente indagato e che potrebbe dare risultati concreti è quello della miniatura, con la quale già ad un esame superficiale gli affreschi, per taluni particolari, mostrano determinate affinità : mi riferisco in ispecie alla fascia dei profeti, uniti tra loro da tralci vitinei, elemento peculiare della miniatura medio-bizantina, e alle immagini degli evangelisti. Sarebbe oltremodo interessante esaminare e confrontare in particolare quei codici eseguiti o attribuiti all'Italia meridionale e in particolare in Puglia, dove fiorirono numerosi *scriptoria* nei monasteri italo-greci, ma lo stato degli studi in questo campo specifico è ancora ad un livello embrionale [20]. Sempre nel campo della miniatura va tenuto presente il momento storico complesso e affascinante legato alle figure di Federico II e Manfredi : proprio con la nota Bibbia detta di Manfredi sono infatti connesse alcune immagini del ciclo, p.e. il particolare del Bacio di Giuda (fig. 2) [21].

(19) Andrebbe ulteriormente vagliata a mio avviso la produzione pittorica della Grecia e in particolare delle isole e delle regioni lontane dai centri metropolitani (al proposito v. M. D'Elia, *Per la pittura del Duecento in Puglia e Basilicata. Ipotesi e proposte*, in *Antiche civiltà lucane* – Atti del Convegno di studi di archeologia, storia dell'arte e del folklore, Oppido Lucane, aprile 1970-Galatina, 1977, pp. 151-68 : N. Lavermicocca, *Cultura figurativa e committenza nella decorazione delle chiese-grotta pugliesi*, in *Nicolaus*, I, 1973, pp. 315-43 : Id., *Gli insediamenti rupestri del territorio di Monopoli – Corpus degli insediamenti medievali della Puglia*, Lucania e Calabria – Bari 1977), al contrario di un altro splendido ciclo di affreschi bizantini (nella corretta accezione del termine) e cioè Santa Maria delle Cerrate dove, per numerose immagini si possono istituire precisi raffronti con alcuni cicli della Yugoslavia (p.e. Nerezi).

(20) Recentemente V. Pace ha attribuito ad uno *scriptorium* pugliese, pur con una certa cautela, la c.d. Bibbia bizantina di San Daniele del Friuli : anche se i confronti addotti finora non sembrano eccessivamente probanti, l'interessante proposta va ulteriormente vagliata (V. Pace, *Un'ipotesi per la storia della produzione libraria italo meridionale : la «Bibbia bizantina» di San Daniele del Friuli*, Atti del I Convegno di Storia della miniatura italiana, Cortona, 1978, pp. 131-57.

(21) La scena in esame è un *collage* di due differenti matrici culturali, il Bacio di Giuda fulcro dell'episodio da una parte e i gruppi laterali dei pretoriani dai profili islamizzanti dall'altra. Per alcune interessanti indicazioni al riguardo ringrazio affettuosamente l'amica prof. M. Andaloro.

Ad una maestranza diversa vanno invece attribuite a mio avviso le figure di santi campite nei sottarchi degli archi, qualificate da un linearismo secco ben lontano dallo stile lumeggiato con morbidi passaggi di tono delle immagini dei profeti e delle stesse scene cristologiche : riguardo a queste figure di santi è possibile reperire una vasta serie di confronti, anche se a livelli qualitativi differenziati, con varie immagini di santi pertinenti a numerosi cicli bizantineggianti della regione.

Ma chi erano e da dove venivano i frescanti di San Mauro ? A giudicare dalla qualità degli affreschi, dalla loro posizione isolata rispetto alla produzione bizantineggiante pugliese che, tranne in particolari casi [22] è in genere «provinciale», e dal complesso programma iconografico eseguito rigorosamente, la maestranza era sicuramente greca. Durante une recente visita a San Mauro, il Guillou ricordava al proposito la nota lettera di Giorgio Bardanes, metropolita di Corfu all'abate di Casole Nettario (c. 1225) portata da un pittore di Corfu che si recava a Casole [23] : anche se la decorazione di San Mauro non è direttamente riferibile a tale avvenimento, e del resto a mio avviso gli affreschi sono di numerosi decenni più tardi, ciò dimostra sia che sono esistite precise committenze a maestranze estranee alla regione sia che i rapporti tra i monasteri italo-greci e la madre-patria erano assai stretti.

Riguardo al significato globale del programma iconologico, va tenuto presente che il ruolo preminente era svolto a mio avviso dalla originaria composizione absidale, probabilmente come si è visto una Deésis, tema che riassume in sè, come punto di partenza e di conclusione della lettura dell'intero ciclo, il messaggio significante contenuto in ciascuna delle singole immagini e che la scelta dei santi campiti nei sottarchi, nella maggior parte legati al monachesimo, sottolineano, anche con i contenuti dei cartigli, l'ideale della vita monastica. La composizione absidale quindi, come *summa* di ciascuno dei momenti della salvazione narrati per immagini nel ciclo, è innanzi tutto un'immagine parusiaca : l'esaltazione della vita

(22) E cioè i cicli di San Pietro ad Otranto e Santa Maria delle Cerrate presso Squinzano.

(23) J. M. Hoech-R. J. Loernetz, *Nikolaos-Nektarios von Otranto Abt von Casole*, Ettal, 1965, pp. 179-80.

monastica, esaltata dai santi nei sottarchi, nell'attesa della Seconda Venuta del Signore, può dunque essere considerata come momento unificante del dettagliato programma iconologico del ciclo di affreschi della chiesa di San Mauro presso Gallipoli, ipotesi che sarà più attentamente vagliata in un prossimo e più ampio studio dedicato appunto agli affreschi rapidamente esaminati in tal sede.

Roma. Marina FALLA CASTELFRANCHI.

CHROMATIK UND ENHARMONIK IN DER BYZANTINISCHEN MUSIK

Chromatik und Enharmonik sind grundlegende Erscheinungen der byzantinischen Musik, die zugleich fundamentale historische Fragen aufwerfen. Insbesondere der Ursprung dieser beiden Phänomene ist nicht nur fur den heutigen Griechen eine Angelegenheit höchster nationaler Brisanz, sondern auch für den westlichen Wissenschaftler, den heute nach den Fortschritten der Ethnomusikologie die großen Zusammenhänge zwischen Ost und West bevorzugt interessieren, ein Problemkreis, dem er größte Aufmerksamkeit zuwendet. Selbst die Einführung unseres heutigen Dur-Mollsystems scheint mir mit großen Fragen belastet: die Durtonleiter (c d e f g a h c) wurde in der Renaissance von Spanien nach Italien gebracht mit «reiner» Messung des Terzintervalls (durch die «harmonische» Proportion 5 : 4) durch den spanischen Musiktheoretiker Ramis de Pareja, aus Baeza unmittelbar nördlich des noch arabischen Königreichs Granada und etwa 1470 nach Italien gekommen, wo er seinen grundlegend gewordenen Traktat 1480 veröffentlichte. Das europäische Mittelalter hatte «pythagoräisch» gemessen, die Terz als zwei Ganztöne (81 : 64), die arabische Musiktheorie hat sowohl pythagoräische wie reine Skalen («Makame») benutzt. Sollte Ramis dieser seine Kenntnis der reinen Stimmung verdanken und unsere Durtonleiter auf den in der arabischen Musik fundamentalen Makam Rast zurückgehen? Unsere «melodische» Molltonleiter (d e f g a h cis d) besitzt ein chromatisches cis, das sich aus dem mittelalterlichen Kirchentonartensystem nicht erklären läßt, die «harmonische» Molltonleiter (d e f g a b cis d) zeigt in ihrem oberen Tetrachord die gern so genannte «orientalische Chromatik» oder volkstümlich «Zigeunertonleiter», wie sie auch der byzantinische 2. authentische und 2. plagale Kirchenton (Echos) verwenden, die die griechische Musiktheorie des 19. Jh. selbst aus dem arabischen Makam Hijaz ableitet.

1. Die diatonischen Querstände

a) *Die Tetraphonie.*

Auch die diatonischen Tonleitern der byzantinischen Musik führen bereits zu einem Vorstadium der Chromatik, das unserem «Querstand» einigermaßen vergleichbar ist, wo etwa in einer Stimme h dem b einer anderen Stimme folgt. Ähnliches tritt auch in der byzantinischen Musik auf, freilich nicht in unmittelbarer Aufeinanderfolge. Während der 1. authentische Kirchenton die Tonreihe d e f g a b c d benutzt, verwendet der tetraphone 1. Ton nur die Quinte d e f g a (faktisch nur ihre vier Töne d e f g, daher «tetraphon») und setzt lauter solche Quinten zu einem System zusammen. Das ergibt: Quinte g^0 a^0 b^0 c^1 d^1, Quinte d^1 e^1 f^1 g^1 a^1, Quinte a^1 h^1 c^2 d^2 e^2, Quinte e^2 fis^2 g^2 a^2 h^2. Dem b^0 der 1. Quinte steht in der Mitteloktave in der 3. Quinte also ein h^1 «quer», dem f^1 der 2. Quinte steht in der 4. Quinte ein fis^2 entgegen. Die byzantinische Musiktheorie stellt sich die Quinten wie ein Rad (*τροχός*) vor, das sich dreht, und entsprechende, oft sehr fein illuminierte Zeichnungen veranschaulichen das in den Handschriften der Musiktraktate, der «Papadiken», seit dem 14. Jh. Die Tetraphonie ist bereits für das 13. Jh. verbürgt, da bereits das Lehrgedicht des Johannes Koukouzeles vom *βαρὺς τετράφωνος* spricht (für die Datierung des Lehrgedichts vgl. Abschnitt 3). Auch die arabische Musiktheorie macht von solchen Rädern reichen Gebrauch, und auch wir haben ja einen «Quintenzirkel».

b) *Die triphone Enharmonik.*

Den tetraphonen Quinten entsprechend kann man auch aus den drei Tönen der Quarte «konjunkte», «verbundene» Systeme zusammenbauen. Auf dem Grundton g^0 erhält man dann die Quartenfolge 1. g^0 a^0 h^0 c^1, 2. c^1 d^1 e^1 f^1, 3. f^1 g^1 a^1 b^1, 4. b^1 c^2 d^2 es^2. Hier erscheinen «Querstande» zwischen h^0 der 1. und b^1 der 3. bezw. 4. Quarte und zwischen e^1 der 2. und es^2 der 4. Quarte. Der moderne Ausdruck «Enharmonik» ist dabei denkbar unglücklich, da die antike Enharmonik etwas ganz Anderes ist; doch versucht die moderne Theorie einen gewissen Anschluß an die Antike, für deren Enharmonik Vierteltöne charakteristisch sind, herzustellen, indem sie die Halbtöne möglichst klein nimmt. Trotzdem kann man

die moderne Triphonie prinzipiell nicht aus den antiken konjunkten Tetrachorden herleiten, da diese den Halbton unten führen, die modernen oben. Freilich ist das wieder ein allgemeineres Problem, da auch die Reihenfolge der Tonarten und die ganze Richtung der Melodik anscheinend ebenfalls sich umgekehrt haben. – man vergleiche dazu meine «Grundlagen der antiken und orientalischen Musikkultur», 1961, S. 58-59. Aber auch dann bleibt noch die Differenz bestehen, daß das antike konjunkte System nur drei Quarten verbindet, das byzantinische aber vier. Man kann annehmen, daß irgendeinmal ein Musiker eine Quarte angefügt hat, ähnlich wie man die Saiten der Lyra, wie der antike Grieche sich vorstellte, von Zeit zu Zeit vermehrte, ebenso das System der Transpositionsskalen, siehe ebenda S. 63. So habe ich bereits in meiner Studie «Modalitätsprobleme des psaltischen Stils» in : Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, XXVIII, 1971, S. 71, argumentiert. Man kann aber weiter fragen, ob diese Erweiterung nicht nach dem Vorbild eines bereits bestehenden fremden Systems geschah, das bereits vier Quarten vereinigte. In der Tat gibt es ein solches : in Suphi Ezğis «Türk Musikisi» findet man in Band I, 1933, S. 180-181, eine Komposition im Makam Nigar, die die Quartenstruktur 1. d^1 e^1 fis^1 g^1, 2. g^1 a^1 h^1 c^2, 3. c^2 d^2 e^2 f^2, 4. f^2 g^2 a^2 b^2 zugrundelegt. Das ist genau die eben angegebene Quartenfolge, – das Turkische notiert nur alles eine Quinte höher als das Griechische. Fur den Büzürk, der anstelle der 4. Quarte die Quinte f^2 g^2 a^2 h^2 c^3 benutzt, bringt Ezği historische Nachweise aus den Jahren 1170 bis 1230. Mit dem Nachweis dieser türkischen Makame entfällt aber die Notwendigkeit, einen Zusammenhang mit dem antiken konjunkten System anzunehmen, – dieses kann längst außer Gebrauch gewesen sein, als man den Nigar übernahm und in das Kirchentonartensystem als 3. Ton – authentisch und plagal – einordnete. Es ist daher nicht nur möglich, sondern sogar sehr gut denkbar, daß die Einführung des konjunkten Systems erst vielleicht im 17. Jh. geschah.

2. Die konjunkte Harmonik der Kontakien

In den großen Fragen des historischen Zusammenhangs der metabyzantinischen liturgischen Musik mit der byzantinischen und der byzantinischen wiederum mit der antiken spielt die Harmonik des psaltischen Stils (d.h. der Sologesänge bezw. Sologesangsteile

solo-chor-gemischter Gesänge) eine entscheidende Rolle. Als erster verwies Chr. Thodberg in seiner Studie «The tonal sytem of the kontakarium», = Hist.-fil. Medd. Kong. Danske Vid. Selskab, Band 37, no. 7, 1960, darauf, daß die vielen «falschen» Signaturen (Tonartangaben) der Kontakarien (die aber auch Prokeimena, Alleluia, usw. enthalten, – ihr Originaltitel lautet «Psaltiken») eventuell doch richtig sind und ein vom sticherarischen Tonsystem abweichendes psaltisches Tonsystem ergeben. In seinem Buch «Der byzantinische Alleluiarionzyklus», = Mon. Mus. Byz. Subs. VIII, 1966, hat Thodberg diese Idee dann wieder verlassen und erklärt die Signaturen nunmehr als Anzeichen für Modulationen (Tonartenwechsel). Dem gegenüber hielt ich seine ursprüngliche Idee für wert, ernsthaft nachgeprüft zu werden. Das habe ich für die Kontakia in dem zitierten Aufsatz «Modulationsprobleme ...» getan und sein Alleluia-Buch in einer eingehenden Besprechung in «Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen», Jg. 224, 1972, S. 142-150, diskutiert. In der vorliegenden Studie gehe ich nur auf die prinzipiellen Grundfragen ein, soweit sie hier für das Generalproblem dieser Studie, den großen historischen Zusammenhang, wichtig sind. Die Methode ist ebenso schon von Thodberg gehandhabt worden: Vergleich eines Melismas bei Auftreten in verschiedenen melodischen Zusammenhängen. Ich beschränke mich dabei wieder auf die Betrachtung der Kontakia.

Um gleich mit dem für diese Studie und überhaupt wichtigsten 2. Kirchenton, der ja in der heutigen byzantinischen Kirchenmusik die Chromatik vertritt so wie der 3. Ton die Enharmonik, zu beginnen, so zeigt Kontakion 10 in der hier immer in erster Linie zugrundegelegten Fassung der Handschrift Florenz, Biblioteca Medicaea-Laurentiana, Fonds Ashburnham, Nr. 64, ediert von Carsten Høeg in Faksimile in: Mon. Mus. Byz. [Facs.] IV, 1956, in der 3. Melodiezeile als 2. Hälfte folgende Melodie:

g¹ a¹a¹ b¹ a¹ a¹g¹f¹g¹ a¹b¹a¹g¹f¹e¹ f¹g¹a¹f¹g¹ e¹e¹ g¹g¹ b¹a¹g¹g¹ g¹f¹f¹ a¹g¹g¹ f¹e¹d¹
τὸν ἔ- να θε- όν
e¹f¹g¹e¹ g¹f¹e¹d¹d¹ e¹c¹c¹

Die Generalvorzeichnung des Stückes am Anfang ist Plagios Deuteros; jedes Kontakion zerfällt in einzelne Melodiezeilen, die jede wieder ihre eigene Zeilenvorzeichnung voransetzen. Die vorliegende 3. Zeile des Kontakions 10 (Ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐδέξω für

das Fest des Hl. Johannes Chrysostomos) trägt die Zeilensignatur Authentikos Tetartos.

Ich kürze im folgenden die vier authentischen Kirchentöne als 1A, 2A, 3A, 4A ab, die vier plagalen als 1P, 2P, 3P, 4P. Eine Zahl hierhinter gibt an, ob die Signatur den Grundton (1), die Sekunde (2), die Terz (3), die Quarte (4), die Quinte (5) usw. als Anfangston des Stückes oder der Zeile angibt ; weiter ist nn Nana, Nnn Nenano.

Ich bemerke, daß entgegen der allgemeinen Meinung die mittelalterliche Bezeichnung «kyrios» für die authentischen Töne in den Papadiken nicht die originale ist, – die französischen Musikforscher J. Chailley und M. Huglo haben sogar dementsprechend die Folgerung gezogen, daß «authenticus» im gregorianischen Choral eine karolingische lateinische Neuschöpfung wäre. Ich habe aber in der Unzialhandschrift Sinai gr. 212, die man sogar ins 7. Jh. setzt, die Bezeichnung ἦχ α' ἀνθ über dem 1. Morgenevangelium gefunden, – siehe die Behandlung dieser Handschrift auf S. 172-174 meines Aufsatzes «Eine alte orientalische christliche Liturgie : altsyrisch-melkitisch» in : Orient. Christ. Period., XLII, 1976, S. 156-196.

In den Handschriften Vat. gr. 345 und Paris BN gr. 397 steht ebenfalls die ZS (Zeilensignatur) 4A1, ebenso in Athos, Große Laura I 100, f. 154 v.

Die Kenntnis so schwer zugänglicher Handschriften wie Laura I 100 u.a. verdanke ich der steten Hilfsbereitschaft von O. Strunk, dessen ich hier noch einmal in Dankbarkeit gedenke.

Die Handschrift Paris BN gr. 397 teilt die Zeile in zwei Hälften, deren zweite unser Melisma ist, dem sie 1 P 1 veransetzt. Auch die beiden Handschriften Vat. gr. 345 und Laura I 100 setzen hier ebenfalls 1 P 1. Da das Melisma, nachdem es mit 1P begann, am Schluß wieder nach c^1 hinabsteigt, könnte man sagen, daß es hier nach 4 A «zurückmoduliert». Läßt man den Bereich von 1 P sich über die ersten zwei Drittel des Melismas erstrecken, so würde 1 P, da ja Ashb 64 die ganze Zeile als in 4 A stehend ansieht, unter seinem Grundton g^1 jedenfalls f^1 und e^1 haben. Im sticherarischen Stil hat 1 P die Basis d^1 und wird sehr gern nach a^1 transpasiert – so wie hier im psaltischen Stil nach g^1 – ; man darf annehmen, daß es auch im Sticherarischen in der Normallage c^1 und h^1 (nicht b^1) unter d^1 hat, die Transposition entsprechend g^1 und fis^1 (nicht f^1, wie man immer geneigt ist anzunehmen, obwohl auch die heutige Praxis fis^1

benutzt, – für derartige chromatische Erhöhungen und Vertiefungen gibt es sogar den eigenen Fachausdruck «helxis») unter a^1.

Auch die erste Hälfte der Zeile führt zu weiteren entsprechenden Betrachtungen. Sie lautet in Ashb 64 :

c^1 g^1 g^1 a^1b^1 $c^2a^2b^1b^1$ $b^1a^1g^1f^1$ $g^1a^1f^1g^1g^1b^1g^1a^1f^1f^1$ - $g^1a^1f^1g^1d^1e^1f^1e^1d^1c^1$

προσ-κυ-νεῖν

Ashb 64 schreibt alles ohne Markierung hintereinander, aber Vat. gr. 345 und Laura I 100 teilen nochmals nach zwei Dritteln an der von mir durch einen Strich angedeuteten Stelle.

> Die byzantinische Neumenschrift gibt bekanntlich nicht Tonhöhen, sondern Intervalle : denselben Ton noch einmal (das berühmte «Ison»), eine Sekunde aufwärts, eine Terz aufwärts, usw. ..., eine Sekunde abwärts, eine Terz abwärts, usw. ..., was die Neumentabellen in den Papadiken durch entsprechende, über die Neumen geschriebene Zahlen dem Schüler verdeutlichen. Diese Zahlen will ich hier übernehmen. In den eben angeführten Fällen schreibe ich : 0, 1, 2, ..., für die absteigenden – 1, – 2, ...

An der Trennstelle schreibt Vat. gr. 345 Nnn mit übergesetzten Neumen für – 2, 1, 1, 1. Nnn ist nun aber die Signatur des heute chromatischen 2P. Würde man wie manche griechische Musikforscher annehmen, daß der 2P auch schon im Mittelalter chromatisch war, so würde die Nnn-Signatur für die ihr folgenden Noten die Töne d^1 es^1 fis^1 g^1 vorschreiben. Würde man wie die westlichen Wissenschaftler (einschließlich Thodberg wieder in seinem Buch) annehmen, daß die Signaturen auch im psaltischen Stil ihre sticherarische Bedeutung behalten, so wäre es statt dessen d^1 es^1 f^1 g^1. Nun geht das Ende der Phrase aber wieder auf c^1 herunter und etwa die letzten sechs Töne stehen wieder im 4A und die ZS würde sich nur auf die erste Hälfte beziehen. Aber Ashb 64 und Paris Gr. 397 betrachten die ganze 1. Halbzeile als in 4A stehend und man kann schlecht annehmen, daß die anderen Schreiber sich eine Modulation vorstellten, sondern muß vielmehr folgern, daß sie die im 4A enthaltene Tonfolge d^1 e^1 f^1 g^1 als 2P ansahen.

Nun ist die kleine Schlußpartie der 1. Hälfte unserer Zeile aber eine sehr beliebte Allerweltsfloskel und wird an anderen Stellen noch wieder anders gedeutet. So steht sie in K 17 (*Ὁ πρὸ εωσφόρου*) in der letzten Zeile des Kontakions. Ashb 64 teilt wieder nicht unter,

aber Paris gr. 397 zeichnet nn mit den Intervallen 1 0 vor ; das ist aber 4P 2 und 4P dürfte schon sticherarisch – wenn auf c^1 – h^0 und a^0, bezw. – wenn auf g^1 – fis^1 und e^1 unter sich haben. In der Handschrift Grottaferrata *Γ γ* V steht die Figur im Oikos desselben Kontakions mit leicht verziertem Schluß und Anfang f^1 g^1 statt g^1 a^1 ... in der folgenden Form :

f^1 g^1 $d^1e^1f^1e^1d^1$ $c^1c^1d^1e^1$ $c^1d^1c^1c^1$

Vorgezeichnet ist aber 2 A 3. Der einzige vorangesetzte Ton hat also schon die Änderung der Vorzeichnung bewirkt ; denn f^1 ist in der Tat die Terz des 2 A.

Im Kontakion K 28 (*Πᾶσαν στρατιάν*) steht die Gruppe in wieder leicht geänderter Form

g^1 $f^1e^1f^1g^1$ $d^1e^1f^1e^1d^1$ c^1c^1

Hier ist 1 A 5 vorgezeichnet und das ergibt einen 1 A auf c^1 mit der Dur-Terz e^1 anstelle eines 1 A auf d^1 mit der Moll-Terz f^1. Daß das jedem westlichen wie jedem griechischen Musikforscher unannehmbar erscheint, ist verständlich. Im vorliegenden Fall ist es aber so, daß 1 A 5 auch im sticherarischen Stil oft vorgezeichnet ist, wo 1 P für den nach a^1 transponierten 1 P stehen sollte. Der hat aber (siehe oben) eben g^1 und fis^1 unter sich. Freilich hat der 1 P auch die Töne über dem Grundton zu verwenden, was hier nicht der Fall ist. In K 17 steht diese leicht verkürzte Form im Oikos über *λόγον σάρκα* und vorgezeichnet ist wieder Nnn, also der 2P.

Die Handschrift Laura, I, 100 (siehe oben), die die Schlußgruppe der ersten Zeilenhälfte ebenfalls abteilt, setzt Nnn mit – 1,1,1,1. Das würde selbst in sticherarischem Stil $e^1f^1g^1a^1$ bedeuten, wobei sich g^1a^1 auf die beiden ersten Noten der Schlußgruppe beziehen würden, was durchaus möglich ist. Aber vielleicht liegt ein Fehler vor.

Es gibt also zwei Möglichkeiten der Erklärung, die sich im Grunde wenig unterscheiden : eine Zeile wird als Einheit aufgefaßt, aber ihre Vorzeichnung richtet sich nach der Anfangsnote ; oder aber : die Vorzeichnung ist dem Melodieanfang gemäß, aber – eventuell schon in der 2. Note ! – «moduliert» die Zeile in eine andere Tonart. Nun sind die Schlüsse der Zeilen derart uniform, oft große Schlußmelismen immer wiederkehrend, daß man dann sagen muß, daß die Kontakia überhaupt nur in einer einzigen Tonart stehen, nach Ashb 64 u.a. 4 A, während Paris gr. 397 die Schlüsse

sogar oft abtrennt, wo die anderen dies nicht tun, aber stets nn, also 4 P, vorschreibt. Die Vorstellung, daß eine Zeile nach ihrem 1. Ton bereits moduliert, ist in einer Musik, in der alle Zeilen faktisch in ein und dieselbe Tonart auslaufen – die eine früher, die andere später –, nicht unmöglich, aber die Tatsache darf nicht hinwegdiskutiert werden, daß in einer Phrase wie in der eben besprochenen Schlußpartie e^1 und nicht es^1 vom Komponisten beabsichtigt ist, auch wenn 1 A 5 davorsteht.

Vorzeichnungen bestimmen Tonarten, gleichgütig, ob diese für eine einzige Note, für eine kleinere Anfangsgruppe, für eine Zeile – oder gar für ein ganzes Stück gelten. Die Summe der Vorzeichnungen bezw. Tonarten bildet ein tonales System und dieses läßt sich für die Kontakia sehr schnell an Hand der Melismen und der Zeilenvorzeichnungen rekonstruieren. Unsere 3. Zeile des K 10 stand in 4 A, und um Übereinstimmung mit der modernen griechischen Musiktheorie zu erreichen, habe ich diesen Kirchenton auf c^1 gesetzt. Dann stand der 1 P der 2. Hälfte auf g^1, der 2 P Nnn der Schlußpartie der 1. Zeilenhälfte führte nach g^1, für die andere Handschriften 2 A auf d^1, 4 P auf f^1 und 1 A 5 auf g^1 lieferten, also 1 A auf c^1.

Zieht man weitere Kontakia hinzu, so hat die letzte Zeile des Koukoulions 2 A 5 vorgeschrieben. Wir haben den 2 A schon auf d^1 erhalten und setzen 2 A 5 daher auf a^1. Das ganze Stück hat 1 P 1 vorgezeichnet, die 1. Note ist – 1. Soll die letzte Zeile richtig mit a^1 beginnen, so muß das Stück mit c^1 anfangen. Das heißt, daß der 1 P hier auf d^1 steht. Seine Transposition auf g^1 haltten wir schon erhalten. Diese Transposition steht also eine Quarte über der Grundlage der Tonart und man vermutet schon, daß das ganze System der Harmonik der Kontakien in Quarten transponiert und nicht in Quinten, wie das sticherarische, daß es also nicht tetraphon wie jenes, sondern triphon wie die Enharmonik ist.

Um die Lage des 3. Kirchentones zu finden, kann man K 14 (*Ἐν τοῖς μύροις ἄγιε*) analysieren. Die Generalvorzeichnung ist 3 A 3 ; die zweite Zeile ist, wie häufig in den Kontakien, musikalisch gleich der ersten ; die dritte Zeile hat 1 P 1 vorgezeichnet. Will man erreichen, daß dieser 1 P auf die Tonhöhe d^1, seine Grundposition kommt, so muß das Stück ebenfalls mit d^1 beginnen. Der 3 A 1 würde dann auf h^o stehen. Das Koukoulion schließst dann mit h^o, dem Grundton, ebenso wie auch Zeile 1 = Zeile 2.

Die Schlußzeile des Koukoulions (= unsymmetrische Anfangsstrophe des Kontakions, der die eigentlichen Strophen, die Oikoi, folgen) endet wieder mit einem Melisma, das auch in anderen Kontakien erscheint. Das Melisma beginnt mit g^1, dem die Handschrift Grottaferrata *E β* VII 4 A5 vorzeichnet, – wieder steht der 4 A in c^1. In K 22 (*Ὁ μήτραν παρθενικὴν ἁγίασας*) mit der Generalvorzeichnung 1 A 1 steht es in der 6. und 10. Zeile des Oikos am Schluß. Die 6. Zeile beginnt eine Terz tiefer als der Schluß, mit der Vorzeichnung 1 A 1, die, wenn der Schluß (siehe eben) in h^o auskommen soll, einen 1 A auf g^o ergibt. Da wir schon einen 1 A auf c^1 erhalten haben, zeigt dies wieder, daß das harmonische System der Kontakien in Quarten transponiert. In der 10. Zeile ist in Ashb 64 wieder 1 A 1 vorgezeichnet, Grottaferrata *E β* VII dagegen schreibt 4 P 2 vor, dessen Lage sich dann als c^1 ergibt, wieder im Quartabstand zu der schon oben vorgekommenen Transposition in f^1. Der 6. Zeile vorher geht eine Zeile, die mit einem viel benutzten Melisma mit dem Schlußton g^o endet und für den Anfang c^1 4 P nn mit den Intervallen 4 0 vorzeichnet, was einen 4 P auf g^o ergibt, noch wieder eine Quarte tiefer als der eben festgestellte 4 P auf c^1, der eine Quarte unter dem in f^1 steht. Die 6. Zeile schließt mit dem Anfang g^o g^o d^1d^1 an diesen 4 P an – die ganze Zeile 5 verläuft ohne irgendwelche Modulation in diesem 4 P –, schreibt aber 1 A 1 vor, offenbar dieses Quintsprunges wegen (siehe oben). Will man mit Modulationen arbeiten, so wäre nur der Quintsprung 1 A, die Fortsetzung $a^oh^oc^od^1$ wäre 2 P Nnn, dessen Fortsetzung $d^1d^1e^1f^1e^1d^1c^1c^1$ wieder 4 P, in dem die Zeile dann bis zum Schluß bliebe, – aber der 2 P hat h^o und nicht wie der sticherarische b^o ! Besonders geradezu eindringlich lehrreich ist die Handschrift Vat. gr. 345, die dem mit d^1 beginnenden Oikos die doppelte Vorzeichnung 1 A 5/4 A 5 vorangesetzt hat, – eine späterer Sänger, der nichts mehr vom 1 A mit Dur-Terz wußte, aber das Stück mit der Dur-Terz in seinem Kopf hatte, hat dann das *α* der Signatur 1 A 5 ausradiert und 4 A 5 stehen gelassen.

Endlich für den 3. Plagalton gibt K 55 (*Επὶ τοῦ ὄρους*) mit der Generalvorzeichnung 3 P 1 die Lösung. Dieses Kontakion beschließt Zeile 5 = Zeile 6 wieder mit demselben eben bei K 14 und K 22 besprochenen Melisma mit dem Schluß h_o. Das Stück beginnt einen Ton tiefer auf a^o. Sowohl Ashb 64 wie *Γ γ* III, *E B* VII, Vat. gr. 345 und Paris gr. 397 schreiben für die Anfangsnote die Neume – 2. Die

Anfangssignatur 3 P 1 bezeichnet also zwei Schritte höher, damit – 2 a^0 ergibt, den Ton c^1. Die Zeilen 5 = 6 beginnen ebenfalls mit a^0, aber Grottaferrata *Γ γ* III und *E β* VII haben die Zeilensignatur 1 A 5 mit der Neume – 3 ; das ergibt für 1 A 5 drei Schritte höher d^1, für 1 A 1 wieder g^0. Auch im sticherarischen Stil steht der 3 P, der «Barys», auf f^1 und transponiert c^2, und hat bei der Lage f^1 die Töne $e^1d^1c^1$ unter der «Basis» f^1, bei der Transposition $h^1a^1g^1$; der transponierte sticherarische Barys hat also dieselbe Lage (eine Oktave höher) wie der psaltische Barys auf c^1, der, wie das Melisma beweist, h^0 unter sich hat, obwohl *Γ γ* III und *E β* VII 1 A vorzeichnen. Auch hier gibt es eine Konkurrenz der Signaturen : in der 4. Zeile schreiben Ashb 64, *Γ γ* III, *E β* VII die Zeilensignatur 1 A 5, dagegen Sinai gr. 1280 die Vorzeichnung 4 A 5.

Ergänzt man die bisher gefundenen Positionen durch die entsprechenden Quarttranspositionen, so erhält man auf c^1 die Tonarten 4 A und 4 P wie im Sticherarischen, aber ebenso 1 A und 3 P ; auf d^1 steht nicht nur wie im Sticherarischen 1 P, sondern auch 2 A und 2 P, auf e^1 der von h^0 hochtransponierte 3 A ; auf f^1 folgen die Höhertranspositionen von c^1, auf g^1 die von d^1, auf a^1 die von e^1, auf b^1 wieder die von f^1 usw. ; ähnlich in der Tiefe auf g^0, a^0, h^0 die Tiefertranspositionen von c^1, d^1, e^1. Ich stelle das nochmal in einer Tabelle zusammen.

f^1	1 A, 3 P, 4 A, 4 P	es^2	1 A, 3 P, 4 A, 4 P
e^1	3 A	d^2	3 A
d^1	1 P, 2 A, 2 P	c^2	1 P, 2 A, 2 P
c^1	1 A, 3 P, 4 A, 4 P	b^1	1 A, 3 P, 4 A, 4 P
h^0	3 A	a^1	3 A
a^0	1 P, 2 A, 2 P	g^1	1 P, 2 A, 2 P
g^0	1 A, 3 P, 4 A, 4 P	f^1	1 A, 3 P, 4 A, 4 P

Wie es zu einer solchen Verteilung der Signaturen gekommen ist, ist schwer zu erklären. Sicherlich war es der Versuch, das vorher schon bestehende sticherarische System auf das fremde Verbundsystem durch Komprimierung zu übertragen. Man sieht, daß in der Tat die Töne 1 A, 2 A, 3 A, 4 A numerisch richtig aufeinander folgen. Da man nur eine Quarte und nicht eine Quinte zur Verfügung hat, muß man jetzt auf 4 A wieder neu beginnen, sodaß 1 A und 4 A auf dieselbe Tonhöhe zu stehen kommen. Der sticherarische 3 P auf f^1 ist genau so auf f^1 gesetzt und der sticherarische 1 P auf d^1 hat auch

seinen alten Platz behalten, ebenso der 4 P. Daß man dann den 2 P zum 2 A gesetzt hat, ist verständlich.

So merkwürdig dieses Verbundsystem ist, so kann es doch Züge vorweisen, die gleiche Merkwürdigkeiten der heutigen byzantinischen Musik erklären: der heutige – freilich chromatische – 2 P steht ebenso wie hier mit dem 1 P zusammen auf derselben Tonhöhe d^1 und der konjunkte enharmonische 3 P steht heute wie hier auf f^1. Von einer Vertauschung abgesehen stimmt auch die Besetzung von h^0, nur zählt man heute nicht 3 A, sondern nimmt eine zweite Unterart des 3 P hier an, was eine so sonderliche Sache ist, daß man sie bisher überhaupt nicht erklären konnte, aber nunmehr wenigstens einigermaßen verstehen kann.

Ein Unterschied kann freilich nicht übersehen werden: dieses konjunkte System – in fall man nicht wieder fortwährende Modulationen annehmen will – kennt keine Chromatik. Es erklärt wohl die Lage des 2 P, aber nicht seine heutige Chromatik.

Wenn die hier entwickelten Gemeinsamkeiten mit dem heutigen «byzantinischen» System keine Zufälle sind, sondern einen echten historischen Zusammenhang darstellen, muß man das freilich dadurch beweisen, daß man den Zusammenhang kontinuierlich verfolgt. Das soll im Folgenden – soweit mit dem heute noch beschränken Handschriftenbestand moglich – versucht werden.

3. Das Lehrgedicht des Kukuzeles

Das Lehrgedicht des Kukuzeles ist eines der markantesten Kunstwerke der byzantinischen Musik. Als «Lehrgedicht» ist es dazu eine der originellsten und witzigsten Kompositionen der gesamten Musik: der Text, in dem Kukuzeles sich zum Schluß selbst mit Namen nennt, besteht aus den Namen der Neumen der byzantinischen Musik mit manchmal ein wenig verbindendem Text, über jedem Wort einer Neume steht in der Neumenlinie darüber das Zeichen der Neume und in der Melodielinie erscheint die melodische Floskel, die das Zeichen andeutet. So ist immer wieder versucht worden, das Lied in unsere europäische Notation zu übertragen: zuerst Fürstabt M. Gerbert in «De cantu et musica sacra», 1774, Bd. II, nach einer unzulänglichen Handschrift in St. Blasien, dann O. Fleischer in «Neumenstudien III, Die spätgriechische Tonschrift», 1904, nach einer wieder sehr schlechten Berliner

Handschrift, sodann G. Devai in «The musical study of Cucuzeles in a manuscript of Debrecen», in Acta antiqua Acad. Scient. Hung., III, 1955, S. 151-179, wieder nach einer sehr schlechten späten Handschrift und nochmals als Berichtigung in «The musical study of Koukouzeles in a fourteenth Century Manuscript», ebenda VI, 1958, S. 213-235, nach ihm von O. Strunk zur Verfügung gestellten Photos der frühesten und ausgezeichneten Handschrift Athen, 2458. Sodann benutzte C. Floros in «Die Entzifferung der Kontakarien-Notation», in Musik des Ostens, III, 1965, S. 7-71, die melodischen Floskeln der einzelnen Neumen zur Aufhellung der noch unbekannten Bedeutung der slavischen Neumen, eine «ingenious idea», wie M. Velimirović in «The influence of the Byzantine Chant on the Music of the Slavic Countries», in Proc. XIIIth Internat. Congr. of Byz. Stud. Oxford, 1966, S. 119-147, auf S. 126 sagt. Endlich habe ich ebengerade in einer Studie «Interpretation und Ornamentierung in der nachbyzantinischen Musik», in Acta musicologica, LII, 1980, S. 101-121, die Figuren des Lehrgedichts mit den entsprechenden Abschnitten in der von Petrus Lampadarius Peloponnesius ornamentierten Fassung verglichen, um zu sehen, welche Zeichen unverändert gelassen wurden, also bereits als ornamentiert angesehen wurden, und welche mehr oder weniger stark verziert wurden.

In dieser Studie ist die Frage eine ganz andere, die nach der harmonischen Struktur des Stückes. Das Stück durchläuft nämlich – was bisher noch nicht bemerkt wurde, soweit ich sehe – der Reihe nach alle acht Kirchentonarten, offenbar ebenfalls in lehrhafter Absicht; dies freilich keine Idee Kukuzeles', sondern in Nachahmung früherer Stichera, die ich deswegen «oktomodal» genannt habe und über die O. Strunk in «The tonal system of byzantine music», in Musical Quaterly, XXVIII, 1942, S. 190-204, und ich ergänzend in «Die oktomodalen Stichera und die Entwicklung des byzantinischen Oktoëchos», in Arch. für Musikwiss. XXVII, 1970, S. 304-325 gehandelt haben.

Zur Eingrenzung der Lebenszeit des Kukuzeles gibt es zwei Daten, die sich bereits bei P. Uspenskij, Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum graecorum qui in monasterio Sanctae Catharinae in Monte Sina asservantur, tomus I, redigiert von V. Benešević, Petersburg, 1911, finden. Einen Terminus post quem findet man dort bei der Handschrift No. 300, S. 152, die als N° 5 einen Stichos enthält, den Text *τοῦ πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Ματθαίου, τὸ δὲ*

μέλος ἐστὶ κράτημα τοῦ Κουκουζέλη. Einen griechischen Patriarchen Matthäus gibt es aber erst 1397 ; dagegen hatte Konstantinopel 1221-1227 einen lateinischen Patriarchen. Das andere Datum findet sich im Sinai gr. 1256, No. 308, S. 156/157, der 6817 a. gr. = 1308/1309 a.d. von Irene, Tochter des Kalligraphen Theodor Agiopetritis, der seinerseits 1307/1308 den Sinai gr. 277 geschrieben hatte, vollendet wurde, die aus ihrer Vorlage den Eintrag des Namens Johannes Koukouzeles übernahm, den C. Høeg, The hymns of the hirmologium I, = Mon. Mus. Byz. Transscr., VI, 1952, S. XIV, für den Schreiber der Vorlage hielt, ich in «Die datierten griechischen Sinai-Handschriften des 9. bis 16. Jahrhunderts, Herkunft und Schreiber», in Ostkirchliche Studien, 27, 1978, S. 143-168, auf S. 156 eher für einen Besitzer.

In diesem Aufsatz bitte ich zwei bei der Korrektur entstandene Fehler zu verbessern. S. 155 : Sinai gr. 805 ist geschrieben 1314/1315, Sinai gr. 849, 1303/1304.

Inzwischen ist ein neues Datum aufgetaucht. E. V. Williams hat in seiner Dissertation «John Koukouzeles' Reform of Byzantine Chanting for Great Vespers in the Fourteenth-Century», Yale, 1968, erwogen, daß Kukuzeles bei der Anfertigung des schon erwähnten Kodex Athen, 2458, der 1336 datiert ist, Einfluß ausübte, was M. Velimirović, The Prooemiac Psalm of Byzantine Vespers, in Words and Music : The Scholar's View (... in Honor of A. Tillman Merritt), Harvard, 1972, S. 317-337, auf S. 321 für eine «plausible suggestion» hält und ich bei meiner Lektüre der Arbeit vor Jahren in Dumbarton Oaks für sehr wohl möglich hielt.

Ich kann nun ein weiteres Datum beibringen speziell für das Lehrgedicht. Die Juli 1289 vollendete Handschrift Paris Bibl. Nat. gr. 261 enthält auf f. 139 v. eine Neumentafel, die Zeichen schwarz, darunter rot jeweils der Name. Drei Zeichen sind außerordentlich selten, wenn überhaupt anderswo nachweisbar, Anastama, Darmos und Anatrichisma. Alle drei sind aber im Lehrgedicht enthalten. Noch schlagender ist folgendes : die Tafel bringt dreimal dasselbe Zeichen Xeron klasma hintereinander, das erste Mal mit den Neumen 0 1 −1, das zweite und dritte Mal mit 0 1 −1 −1. Unter dem ersten Zeichen steht «Xeron», unter dem zweiten «Homalon» – aber das Homalon ist ein ganz anderes Zeichen –, unter dem dritten $\mu\ \gamma\ \rho$, über γ : $\grave{\alpha}$, über ρ : τ, hinter ρ der Rest eines weiteren Zeichens. Es

gibt kein Zeichen mit einem passenden Namen, aber γ ist anscheinend aus φ verschrieben und das Wort heißt ἀμφότερα. Das Xeron klasma steht mit vollem Namen bereits vorn an 7. Stelle, – ohne zusätzliche Neumen. Das richtige Homalon fehlt. Statt «homalon» sollte «klasma» stehen für das erste Zeichen, oder über «homalon» ist das Zeichen ausgefallen. Jedenfalls bezieht sich ἀμφότερα auf die identischen Zeichen 2 und 3 und das steht genau so ἀμφότερα mit zwei Xeron klasma darüber, im Lehrgedicht. Die Neumen im Lehrgedicht sind 1 1 – 1 – 1 und 1 2 – 2 – 1 ; der Schreiber des gr. 261 hat die beiden Zeichen für sich betrachtet und richtig mit 0 begonnen. 1 2 – 2 – 1 findet sich in den mir zur Verfügung stehenden Fassungen Athen 2458 und Sinai gr. 1323, 1463, 1469, 1552, – 1 – 1 mag entweder eine Variante der Vorlage des gr. 261 oder eine Änderung des Schreibers, der über beiden gleichen Zeichen auch die gleichen Neumen haben wollte, sein. Weiter stehen auch über Anastama, Darmos, Choreuma, Ouranisma, Thes kai apothes, Lygisma, Synagma, Anatrichisma, Thematismus und Phthora Neumen, aber dafür fehlen die Zeichen. Neumentafeln, soweit mir bekannt, haben nur Zeichen und keine Neumen. Der Schreiber kann also in all diesen Fällen nicht nach einer anderen Neumentabelle abgeschrieben haben ; denn dann hätte er die Zeichen geschrieben und nicht die Neumen. Wenn er also einmal Zeichen, einmal Neumen, einmal Zeichen und Neumen schreibt, muß er nach einer Vorlage gearbeitet haben, die Zeichen mit Neumen hatte, und das war eben Kukuzeles' Idee in seinem Lehrgedicht. Entweder exzerpierte der Schreiber selbst aus dem Lehrgedicht oder kopierte nach einer Vorlage, die daraus exzerpiert hatte. Jedenfalls liegt das Lehrgedicht also vor 1289. Sollte Williams' Idee richtig sein, daß die Herstellung der Handschrift Athen 2458 im Jahre 1336 auf Kukuzekes selbst zurückgeht, so muß er damals jedenfalls schon sehr alt gewesen sein ; das Lehrgedicht wäre dann das Werk eines genialen Jünglings.

Zur Frage der Herkunft Kukuzeles' hat man sich bisher nur der Etymologie bedient. Aber damit erreicht man nur seine Vorfahren ; denn sicher war er nicht der erste Träger dieses Beinamens. Sein Familienname war Papadopoulos, wie in mehreren Sinai-Handschriften vorkommt, etwa Uspenskij, a.a.O. S. 146 bei No. 290. Die Herleitung, die eine seiner Viten angibt, – vgl. dazu F. Miklosich, Die

slavischen Elemente im Neugriechischen, in Sitzungsberichte Phil.-hist. Kl. Kaiserl. Akad. Wiss. Wien, 63, 1870, S. 529-566, auf S. 544 – aus *Κούκια καὶ ζέλια* von bulg. zelie «Kohl» klingt wenig erfreulich. Ich stieß in einem griechischen Volksliedtext – bei G. K. Spyridakis-Sp. D. Peristeris, Ellenika demotika tragoudia, III, 1968, S. 396 – auf *τ' αρνίθια του καὶ τὰ κουκουτσέλια του*, wo es im Gegensatz zu *ἀρνίθια = ὀρνίθια* «Hühner» offenbar «Kucken» bedeutet, von denen in diesem Text gewünscht wird, daß sie dem verhaßten Nachbarn verrecken. Im Epirus gibt es *κουκουσούλα* für einen kleinen Vogel, größer als ein Sperling, worauf man mich im Institut für Byzantinistik und Neugriechische Philologie der Universitat München hinwies, – siehe E. A. Mpagkas, Ta glossika idiomata tes Epeirou, I, 1964, S. 192, mit der Bemerkung, daß das Wort arabischen Ursprungs ist.

Seit einiger Zeit hat man aber einen weiteren Hinweis. Der Kodex Paris Bibl. Nat. Suppl. grec. 1321 bringt f. 446-448 das Theotokion *"Ανωθεν οἱ προφῆται* des Kukuzeles – vgl. Ch. Astruc - M.-L. Concasty, Catalogue des Manuscrits Grecs, III : Le supplément grec, III, No. 901-1371, Paris, 1960, S. 619 –, wo Kukuzeles im Titel *τοῦ μακρίτου* heißt (die Referenz auf G. Papadopoulos ist mir nicht zugänglich). Das könnte heißen «aus Makri», – ein sehr bekanntes Makri liegt im SW von Kleinasien, eines in Arkadien, eines in Phthiotis, eins westlich Alexandroupolis in Thrakien. Das letztere war während der lateinischen Herrschaft Sitz eines lateinischen Erzbistums. Es gehörte noch zum Kaiserreich Konstantinopel, sehr nahe der westlichen Grenze zum Königreich von Thessalonike. Es wird deshalb in mehreren Papsturkunden sehr merkwürdig in den Titel des Kaiserreichs einbezogen, – etwa P. Petrussi, Regesta Honorii Papae, III, 1888/1895, II, S. 53, Nr. 3863, ... imperii Constantinopolitani ultra Macram ... L. Santifaller, Beiträge zur Geschichte des lateinischen Patriarchats von Konstantinopel (1204-1261) und der venezianischen Urkunde, 1938, S. 337, hält Macra für einen Fluß, – aber nach Ausweis von Graesse-Benedict-Piechl, 1972, II, S. 439, ist ein solcher außerhalb Italiens nicht belegt. Für «makritis» gibt es sonst keinen Beleg. Sollte Kukuzeles aus diesem Makri stammen, so wurde die obige Beziehung zum lateinischen Patriarchen Matthaus noch glaubwürdiger. Aber er ware dann sicher alter und die These Williams' müßte man aufgegeben. Aber die Handschrift suppl. gr. 321 ist fur syrische Melkiten geschrieben (s. Astruc, S. 614) ; da liegt das kleinasiatische Makri näher. Überdies ist sie 17./18. Jh. entstanden und wenn die Handschrift bei Uspenskij auch so spat wäre, haben beide Nachrichten keinen Wert. Die

Handschrift von Uspenskij könnte dann auch den griechischen Patriarchen von 1397 im Auge gehabt haben.

Ich erkläre nun den oktomodalen Aufbau des Lehrgedichts. Dabei führe ich vor die Handschriften Athen 2458 vom Jahre 1336, die Sinai gr.-Handschriften 1323, 1463, 1552 aus dem 15. Jh., und zum Vergleich eine späte Handschrift, Sinai gr. 1469 aus dem Jahre 1689. An Abkürzungen benutze ich R = Rückwirkend für eine ZS, die sich – wie in der modernen byzantinischen Notation – auf das Ende der verangehenden Zeile bezieht, damit der Sänger vergleichen kann, ob er richtig ausgekommen ist, da die Notation ja nur Intervalle, keine Tonhöhen, angibt, Ph für die Phthora «nana» des 3 A 5/4 Pnn, die bedeutet, daß unter ihr die Schritte kleine, große, große Sekunde liegen, unter z.B. c^2 : $h^1a^1g^1$, Ph 2 für die heute chromatische «Nenano» Nnn-Phthora des 2 P 4, die heute andeutet, daß unter ihr z.B. unter a^1, $gis^1f^1e^1$, liegen, nach westlicher Ansicht in eben diesem Fall aber im Mittelalter diatonisch $g^1f^1e^1$. Jeweils über der 1. Note der Melodie der folgenden Textworte stehen dann in den einzelnen Handschriften die folgenden Vorzeichnungen :

2458	1 A 5	1 A 5	2 A 5	2 A 3	2 A 3	—
1323	1 A 5	2 P 1	2 A 5	2 A 3	2 A 3	Ph
1463	1 A 5		2 A 5			Ph
1552	1 A 5		2 A 3	2 A 3	2 A 3	—
1469	1 A 5		2 A 5		2 A 3	Ph
	Ἴσον	*τρομικόν*	*ὄρθιον*	*οὐρἀνισμα*	*στραγγίσματα*	
2458	nn	3 A 5	4 A 5	4 A 5		4 P 1
1323	nn		4 A 5	4 A 1 R	4 P 1	4 P 1
1463	nn		4 A 5	4 A 1 R		4 P 1
1552	nn	nn	4 A 5	4 A 5		4 P 1
1469	—	1 A 1	4 A 5	4 A 1 R		4 A 1
	χροῦσμα	*ἄλλον*	*ὁμαλόν*	*παρακά-λεσμα*	*(ὑπορρο-)ἡ*	*αντι-κένωμα*
2458	1 P 1	1 P 1				
1323	4 P 1 R	2 A 3				
1463	4 P 1 R				1 P 1	
1552	1 A 5	1 P 1	1 P 1	1 P 1	1 P 1	
1469	4 A 1 R	1 A 1	1 P 1			Ph 2
	ἀργοσύνθε-τον	*κολαφισ-μός*	*κούφισμα*	*κρατημο-κούφισμα*	*τρομικο-παρα-κλητιτή*	*παρακλη-τική*

2458	2 P 1	Nnn				Nnn		
1323		Ph 2 R		2 A 3 R	2 P 1			
1463	2 P 1	Nnn	Nnn		2 P 1	Nnn		
1552	2 P 1	Nnn	Nnn	2 A 3	2 P 1	Nnn		
1469	2 P 1	Nnn	Nnn	Ph 2		2 A 3		
	σήρμαν	*χόρευμα*	*ἕτερον ὅμοιον*	*σύνθεσις*	*ἕτερα σύνθεσις*	*ἕτερον βυθογρόνθισμα*		
2458					2 P 1			
1323	2 A 3	2 A 3			2 P 1			
1463	2 A 3	2 A 3						
1552	2 A 3	2 A 3		2 P 1				
1469	2 A 3	2 A 3	Ph 2					
	κλάσματα	*πίασμα*	*ἠχὰδιν*	*(λέ-)γετε*	*θέμα*			
2458	3 P 1							
1323	2 P 1 R	3 P 1						
1463	3 P 1							
1552	3 P 1							
1469	2 P 1 R	3 P 1	3 P 1 R	1 A 1				
	βαρύς	*ἕτερος*	*ἀνάστα-μα*	*μετὰ*				
2458	4 P 1			Ph	4 P 1	nn		
1323	3 P 1 R/ 4 P 1	Ph		Ph		nn		4 A 1
1463	4 P 1		4 P 1	Ph	4 P 1	nn		
1552	4 P 1		4 P 1		4 P 1	nn		
1469	—			Ph		4 P 1 Ph	nn	
	ἀναπαῦμα	*σήμερον*	*διπλοπε-λασθόν*	*φθορά*	*πνεύματα τέσσαρα*	*ἑπτά-φωνος*	*καὶ*	*ἐντέχνως*

Die vorangehende Tabelle ist bereits nach den Tonartenblöcken eingerichtet. In 1323 ist im 1. Ton 2 P 1 nicht so falsch, wie man denkt, da sich im weiteren ergeben wird, daß 2 P 1 auf der Höhe von 1 P 1 steht und 1 P 1 ja auf 1 A 5. Am Anfang des 2. Tones ist 2 A 3 in 1552 eine glatte Nachlässigkeit, – es fehlen die beiden Schlußneumen 1 1 der Signatur. Nana mit 4 0 ist das Zeichen für die Quart des 4. Tones, die ja gleich der Quint des 3. Tones ist, sodaß es in den Handschriften üblich geworden ist, sie anstelle der komplizierten Signatur 3 A 5 zu verwenden. Hier ist Ph am Schluß von 2 A die prägnante Überleitung zum 3 A 5 und wenigstens von dem angeblich so authentischen 2458 hätte man über *χροῦσμα* 3 A 5 erwarten dürfen. Denn auch stilistisch beginnt der 3. Ton hier, – die

melodischen Linien über *κρουσμα* und *ἄλλον* verlaufen gleich. Beim Quintsprung vom Schlußton der *ὄμαλον*-Partie zum Anfangston der *παρακάλεσμα*-Gruppe schreiben die einen Handschriften die Signatur des Schlußtons, die noch heute übliche Notationspraxis, die also im 15. Jh. schon existierte, die anderen in klassischer Praxis die des folgenden Anfangstons. Die 4 P 1 sind richtig, – hier stehen in der Melodie Quartsprünge wie 4 Pnn. Im 1 P ist 1 A 5 statt 1 P 1, das 2458 richtig benutzt, üblich, – rückweisende Signaturen – 4 P 1 und 4 A 1 – sind nichts gerade Schönes am Anfang eines neuen Tonartenblocks. 2 A 3 steht falsch für eine Signatur 2 A 1, die nur selten vorkommt. Die Schlußpartie des 1 P hat 1469 bereits als 2 P der Quartstruktur wegen aufgefaßt; aber der 1 P hat ebenfalls Quartstruktur, sogar motivisch sehr ähnlich in der ganzen Gruppe vorher. Der 2 P beginnt also bei *σήρμαν*, – daß Sinai gr. 1323 (15. Jh.) bereits die Ph 2 kennt, ist grundlegend wichtig, zwingt aber nicht unbedingt, hier Chromatik bereits für Kukuzeles selbst (13. Jh.) anzunehmen (1). Die 2 A 3-Signaturen sind richtig, da der 2 A Terz-Quint-Struktur hat, der 2 P Quartstruktur und die Melodie hier tatsächlich im 2 A verläuft. 1 A 1 ist fast richtig, da auf der Sext des 3 P im Sticherarischen ein 1 P steht, auf dem die Melodie hier kadenziert. Die ganzen Signaturen am Anfang des 4 P sind absolut eindeutig: sie bezeichnen einen 4 P auf f^1, der wie er es häufig tut, erst einmal schrittweise nach Art des Makam Rast zur Unterquarte absteigt; von *διπλοπέλασθον* an liegt die Melodie über dem Grundtons und steigt – wieder wie es der Rast tut – bis zur Oktave des Grundton, die durch drollige nana mit der Oktavneume 7 verlangt wird. Das Stück endet in den meisten Handschriften auf der Sekunde dieses auf f^1 stehenden 4 P; aber sie läßt sich auch als die Quinte von c^1 auffassen, – dies war (siehe oben) der Grundton des 4 A, in dessen Quinte das Stück enden würde. In 1323 dagegen schließt das Stück auf dem Grundton f^1 des 4 P, mit dem er begann. Das erstere als die lectio difficilior ist wohl vorzuziehen.

(1) Auch Athen 2458 verwendet einmal die schrage Ph 2, einmal eine wagerechte (siehe unten); aber in beiden Fallen – über *ὀυράνισμα* bezw. *θεματισμός* – hat die Melodie einen Thematismus und der Schreiber hat die Phthorai mit dem Theta verwechselt. Solche Fehler sind aber wohl nicht moglich, wenn die Handschrift unter der Aufsicht von Koukouzeles angefertigt wurde. Dagegen wird man in gr. 1469 fur die mehrfachen Ph 2 Chromatik annehmen (siehe unten)

Um nun den tonalen Verlauf des Stückes zu beschreiben, setze ich wieder den 4 A auf c^1. Dann beginnt das Stück eine kleine Terz tiefer auf a^0 und dies ergibt bei der Signatur 1 A 5 einen 1 A auf d^0. Aber die tiefen Töne werden nicht benutzt, – es geht nur einmal auf die Sekunde unter g^0 herunter, wo man der Helxis wegen fis^0 annehmen wird. Nach dem Beginn auf a^0 bringt die Melodie aber sehr bald c^1 und e^1 ; das aber ist eine richtige Terz-Quintstruktur nach Art eines 1 A. Wir haben hier also einen eine Quint höher transponierten 1 A vor uns, also einen «tetraphonen» 1 A. Das ist aber typisch für den sticherarischen Stil und paßt auf's beste dazu, daß das Stück selber sich gegen Ende vor dem Beginn des Barys als «sticheron» bezeichnet. Am Schluß der 1 A-Partie kadenziert das Stück auf e^1 und die wieder mit e^1 beginnende 2. Gruppe trägt die Vorzeichnung 2 A 5 ; das ergibt also einen 2 A auf a^0. Das heißt aber : in diesem Stück stehen tetraphoner 1 A und wieder eine Quint tiefer – von e^1 nach a^0 – transponierter, also wieder tetraphoner 2 A auf derselben Basis (nämlich a^0). Der 3 A beginnt auf f^1, – bei der Vorzeichnung 3 A 5 von 2458 ist dies ein 3 A auf b^0. Der 4. Abschnitt mit dem Beginn g^1 und der Vorzeichnung 4 A 5 gibt eben den 4 A, den ich auf c^1 setzte. Der 1 P beginnt mit d^1, der 2 P ebenfalls mit d^1, so wie schon 1 A und 2 A auf derselben Basis standen. Der 3 P beginnt einen Halbton höher als der Schluß des 2 P (auf d^1) mit seiner typischen Melodieformel 0 1 – 2 1 und den sticherischen Intervallen große Sekunde, kleine Terz, kleine Sekunde. Das wäre ein Barys (so der übliche Name des 3 P) auf es^1 mit der Leiter es^1, f^1, g^1, a^1, b^1 für die tetraphone Schlußkadenz, wie der Text selbst sagt (siehe oben). Da der normale tetraphone Barys auf $f^1 - c^1$ liegt, ergibt sich dieser tetraphone 3 P durch eine doppelte Quinttransposition nach unten $f^1 - b^0 - es^0$ und Höherlegung um eine Oktav nach es^1. Der das Stück beginnende 1 A auf a^0 ergab sich aus dem normalen 1 A auf d^1 durch Höhertransposition um eine Quinte nach a^1 und Tieferlegung um eine Oktav nach a^0. Der 4 P steht auf f^1, also eine Quarte höher als der normale sticherarische 4 P auf c^1 ; aber das hat nichts mit Enharmonik zu tun, da der ganze Oktavumfang des 4 P transponiert wird (nicht nur eine Quarte), wie die ZS nn mit der Neume 7 vor *ἑπτάφωνος* deutlich macht, da sie $c^2d^2e^2f^2$ als Töne unter f^2 verlangt.

Das tonale System des sich selbst als «sticheron» bezeichnenden Lehrgedichts des Kukuzeles setzt die acht Echoi also auf folgende Grundtöne :

1 A, 2 A : a^o ; 3 A : b^o ; 4 A : c^1
1 P, 2 P : d^1 ; 3 P : es^1 ; 4 P : f^1

Dies System ist wieder symmetrisch : es besteht aus zwei Quarten $a^ob^oc^1[d^1]$ und $d^1es^1f^1[g^1]$, die die Intervallfoge kleine Sekunde, große Sekunde, [große Sekunde], haben und konjunkt durch den gemeinsamen Ton d^1 miteinander verbunden sind. Brauchte man für das konjunkte enharmonische System der Kontakien eine Umkehr der Richtung, wenn man einen direkten historischen Zusammenhang mit der antiken Musik erreichen wollte (siehe oben), so ist das hier nicht nötig : die Sekundfolge klein-groß-groß ist genau die der antiken dorischen Tetrachorde, die für den Aufbau des «vollständigen Systems» grundlegend sind (zwei konjunkte Quarten, einen trennenden Ganzton und nochmal zwei konjunkte Quarten). Freilich muß man keinen solchen Zusammenhang annehmen : das konjunkte antike System steht in jedem Theoretikertraktat und Koukouzeles konnte die Idee haben, die acht byzantinischen Echoi in es hineinzuquetschen. Im Türkischen gibt es allerdings wiederum einen Makam mit eben diesen «dorischen» Tetrachorden, den Kürdi, und ihn konnte man als Vorbild nehmen. Das hat freilich Schwierigkeiten : das obige System erfordert chromatische Umstimmungen : der 1 A hat die Quinte $a^oh^oc^1d^1e^1$, der 2 A dagegen benutzt $a^ob^oc^1d^1e^2$, der 3 A verwendet $b^oc^1d^1e^1f^1$, aber der 4 A hat unter seinem Grundton die Tonfolge $g^oa^oh^o$. Es wechseln also andauernd b^o und h^o, ebenso es^1 und e^1, – was es freilich im Türkischen auch gibt.

Daß man das obige System bisher noch nicht entdeckt hat, liegt daran, daß man in einem Sticheron nur das sticherarische Quintensystem für moglich hielt und konjizierte, um es zu erreichen, – Konjekturen waren bei den schlechten Handschriften ohnehin andauernd notwendig. Selbst G. Devai, der 2458 zur Verfügung hatte, hat konjiziert, um das Quintsystem zu erreichen. Demgegenüber gibt es in meiner Übertragung, die den obigen Darlegungen zugrunde liegt, nicht eine einzige Konjektur. Vor allem die erstmals von mir verwandten Sinai-Handschriften sind fehlerfrei.

4. Die Harmonik der kalophonen Kontakien

Da es von vornherein nicht selbstverständlich ist, daß die kalophonen (besonders stark ornamentierten) Kontakien dasselbe Ton-

system benutzen wie die psaltischen, ist für sie eine eigene, unabhängige Untersuchung erforderlich. Für diese benutze ich die Handschrift Paris, Bibl. Nat., fonds Coislin 221, die der Catalogue des manuscrits grecs, II, Le fonds Coislin, 1945, von R. Devreesse, S. 202, in das 14. Jh. setzt, während H. Omont im Inventaire Sommaire des Manuscrits Grecs, III, 1898, S. 157, sie in das 15. Jh. verlegte.

Am interessantesten, weil die Brücke zur Neuzeit schlagend, ist wieder die Frage nach der Lage des 2 P. Etwa das Kontakion K 17 (Nummerierung von Ashb 64 wie oben !, nicht von Coislin 221) *Ὁ πρὸ ἑωσφόρου* steht im 2 P. Betrachtet man die Strophe (f. 29), so schließt ihr erster Vers mit der Signatur für 4 A 5, die sich verwärtsweisend auf den Anfangston der 2. Zeile bezieht. Setzt man diesen gleich g^1, so wird der Schlußton der 1. Zeile gleich c^1 als 4 A 1, wie ich es auch hier wieder als Ausgangspunkt annehme. Soll die 1. Zeile, der die Generalsignatur 2 P 1 vorangesetzt ist, auf c^1 enden, so muß sie mit d^1 beginnen. Das bestätigt sich immer wieder in allen Kontakien, die im 2 P stehen oder im Innern einzelne Zeilen im 2 P einschalten. Ich bringe hier als Beispiel die Anfangszeile von K 31 *Ψυχή μου, ψυχή μου, ἀνάστα.* Vorgezeichnet ist 2 P 2, die 1. Neume ist – 2, – der Anfangston wäre also, wenn 2 P 1 gleich d^1 ist, c^1 (f. 150):

```
      – 2
2 P 2 c¹ f¹f¹ g¹f¹f¹g¹g¹a¹g¹g¹e¹f¹g¹e¹f¹g¹f¹e¹d¹g¹f¹e¹f¹g¹f¹e¹d¹c¹ c¹ 4 A 5 g¹ ...
      Ψυ-χή                                                    μου
```

Als Beispiel einer Innenzeile teile ich eine Zeile aus K 58 *Προστασία τῶν χριστιανῶν* mit (f. 60 v.):

```
      0
2 P 1 d¹  d¹d¹ d¹  d¹ d¹d¹g¹f¹e¹f¹g¹f¹e¹d¹c¹c¹ 4 A 5 g¹ ...
      τῶν χρι- στι-α- νῶν
```

Die Anlage ist in beiden Fällen dieselbe wie bereits am Anfang des Oikos von K 17 : Beginn mit d^1 oder c^1, nach kurzer Zeit bereits Konsolidierung in 4 A und Ende mit der typischen Quinte c^1-g^1 des 4 A, die Ton für Ton – $g^1f^1e^1d^1c^1$ – abwärts durchschritten wird und auf dem Grundton c^1 des 4 A schließt. Beide Male auch wieder der Beginn der nächsten Zeile auf der charakterischen Quinte des 4 A !

Betrachtet man weiter etwa den Beginn von K 20, *Τὴν σωματικήν σου παρουσίαν* (f. 33 v.) mit der Generalsignatur 2 P 1, also dem

Anfang d^1 bei der Neume 0, so endet die 1. Zeile auf f^1 und die 2. Zeile beginnt auf g^1. Diesem g^1 ist Nnn mit den Neumen – 2, 1, 1, 1 vorgezeichnet und Nenano führt also wie im Sticherarischen zur Quart des Grundtons, hier von d^1 nach g^1, im Sticherarischen von e^1 nach a^1.

Die Strophe *Τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἰατρεῖον* von K 31 (siehe eben, – f. 61) beginnt mit 2 P 1, Neume 0, auf d^1 und endet wieder auf c^1. Die 2. Zeile fängt der ZS 2 P mit den Neumen 1, – 2, 3 entsprechend auf f^1 an und endet auf c^1. Die folgende Zeilensignatur nana bezieht sich auf den Anfangston f^1 der nächsten Zeile. Nana, die Quarte über dem Grundton des 4 P, steht also auf f^1, und dieser demnach wie der 4 A auf c^1.

Zum zuerst behandelten 2 P gesellt sich auf derselben Grundtonhöhe der 2 A. Etwa das Ende des Koukoulions (*τέλος* hier in Coislin 221, sonst *τελευταῖον*, – der Refrain, in den auch die Strophen auslaufen) von K 32 *Τῷ θρόνῳ ἐν οὐρανῷ* mit der Anfangssignatur 2 P Nnn und bei der Neume 0 mit dem Anfang auf g^1 schließt seine 3. Zeile (f. 78 v.) mit f^1 und beginnt die 4. Zeile mit f^1. Zwischen diesen beiden f^1 steht die Zeilensignatur 2 A 3 und somit ist d^1 der Grundton des 2 A. Auch das bestätigt sich immer wieder.

Um den 3 A zu finden, wähle ich das berühmte Weihnachtskontakion K 16 *Ἡ παρθένος σήμερον* des Romanos, das in diesem Kirchenton steht (f. 22). Die Generalvorzeichnung ist 3 A 3 und die 1. Zeile endet auf c^1, dem die Signatur [4 P]nn mit der Neume – 1 für den Anfangston der 2. Zeile e^1 folgt. Soll die 1. Zeile richtig auskommen, so muß sie mit d^1 beginnen. Das ergibt für 3 A 1 also h^0, – nicht etwa b^0, wie die Signaturen [4 P]nn der 2. und 3. Zeile zeigen, da 4 P unter dem Grundton c^1 die Töne a^0 und h^0 hat, die in diesen Zeilen auch mehrfach vorkommen.

Im Oikos *Ἡ προσευχή, ἡ προσευχή μου* von K 2 *Ἰωακεὶμ καὶ Ἄννα ὀνειδισμόν* endet die Zeile *ζωηφόρον* (f. 9 v.) auf g^0, während die nächste nach der ZS 4 A 5 mit d^1 beginnt, – also einem eine Quart tiefer von c^1 nach g^0 transponierten 4 A. Diese Zeile *τῷ κόσμῳ* endet nun wiederum mit g^0 und die darauf folgende *ὁ μὲν γὰρ προσευχή* beginnt mit der Quarte g^0 c^1c^1. Zwischen beiden Zeilen steht die ZS 3 P 1 mit der Neume – 3 für g^0, – das heißt aber : der 3 P 1 steht hier auf c^1.

Der 1 P ist schnell gefunden : im schon betrachteten Telos von *Τῷ θρόνῳ* folgt f. 79 v. auf die Partien in 2 A 3 ein Schluß auf d^1 vor der

wieder mit d^1 beginnenden Schlußzeile, zwischen beiden die Signatur 1 P 1. Demnach haben also 1 P, 2 A und 2 P alle drei denselben Grundton d^1.

Endlich tritt zu diesen drei Kirchentönen wieder der 1 A auf c^1. Der Oikos *Ἐπειδὴ Ἄδην* von K 32 *τῷ θρόνῳ* hat die Generalvorzeichnung 2 P mit der Neume 0 und also dem Anfangston d^1. Die 1. Zeile lautet nun (f. 76):

d^1 d^1d^1 $d^1e^1f^1e^1$ $f^1f^1e^1f^1e^1f^1g^1g^1g^1a^1g^1f^1g^1f^1g^1a^1g^1f^1g^1f^1e^1d^1g^1f^1e^1f^1g^1f^1e^1d^1c^1c^1$
Ἐ-πει-δὴ *Ἄ-* *δην*

Hierauf folgen zwei Signaturen, die zweite Nnn mit den Neumen 1, 1, 1, 1 bezieht sich auf den Anfangston g^1 der folgenden Zeile, über den sie die Neume 0 sur Gleichsetzung mit dem sich aus 1 + 1 + 1 + 1 ergebenden Ton setzt, die erste 1 A 5, wobei sich 1 A rückbezieht auf das abschließende c^1 der 1. Zeile und 5 auf die Quinte g^1, das die 2. Zeile eröffnet. Man hätte hier für den Sprung c^1-g^1 4 A 5 erwartet, zumal am Ende der 1. Zeile der schrittweise Abwärtsgang innerhalb der Quinte g^1-c^1 steht, den wir schon beim 4 A festgestellt haben. Aber 1 A 5 ist kein Fehler: für den Schreiber sind 1 A 5 und 4 A 5 gleichbedeutend und im Oikos *Ἰωακείμ καὶ Ἄννν* hat er f. 8 v. zwischen einen Zeilenschluß c^1 und das folgende Zeilenanfangs-c^1 die Doppelsignatur 4 A 1/1 A 1 gesetzt. Stilistische Erwägungen würden wieder ganz parallel den oben beim psaltischen 1 A angestellten verlaufen. So etwa beginnt der Oikos *Τὴ θεοτόκῳ* von K 22 *Ὁ μήτραν παρθενικήν* (Generalvorzeichnung 1 A 1) f. 38 mit der AS 1 A 5 zwar mit d^1, also einem 1 A 1 auf g^0, aber im folgenden $c^1h^0c^1$ ist h^0 schon der Helxis wegen anzunehmen und nicht b^0, sodann steigt die Melodie sofort nach f^1: $c^1c^1d^1e^1f^1e^1f^1$, was einen 4 P nn bedeuten würde, und fährt fort: $e^1e^1g^1f^1g^1f^1f^1e^1d^1e^1d^1d^1d^1$, eine Linie im 1 P mit seiner typischen Schlußkadenz $f^1e^1d^1e^1d^1$. Die 2. Hälfte der Zeile steigt dann zu g^1 und verläuft weiter in der Melodik des 4 A, um wieder mit dem stufenweisen Abwärtsgang zu enden, hinter dessen abschließendes c^1 sie auch vor ebenfalls die nächste Zeile beginnendem c^1 richtig die Signatur 4 A 1 setzt. Es stünde also nur der beginnende Ton d^1 im 1 A, beim 2. Ton – c^1 – begännen bereits die Modulationen. Aber mit einer solchen Erklärung kann man dem Beginn des Koukoulions nicht beikommen. Hier ist 1 A 1 vorgeschrieben und es beginnt mit $g^0a^0a^0h^0c^1d^1$ und es folgen lauter ZS 1 A 5, einmal die Doppelsignatur Nnn/1 A 5.

Was die Transpositionen anbetrifft, so haben wir schon eine Quarttransposition festgestellt und das bestätigt sich in weiteren Fällen. Mit der Lage der Kirchentöne : c^1 : 4 A, 4 P, 1 A, 3 P ; d^1 : 1 P, 2 A, 2 P ; h^0 bezw. e^1 : 3 A und der Tatsache, daß das System in Quarten transponiert, hat sich aber ergeben, daß das harmonische System der kalophonen Kontakien dasselbe enharmonische Verbundsystem ist, wie es die psaltischen Kontakien verwenden.

Zu diesem Achttonsystem tritt hier nun aber ein neunter Ton, der Legetos. Konnte ich ihn bisher nur frühestens im Sinaï gr. 1469 vom Jahre 1689 nachweisen, – vergleiche meine Bemerkung in «Echos und Makam», in Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, XXXVI, 1979, S. 237-253, auf S. 249 – so steht er in diesen kalophonen Kontakien des Paris gr. 221 häufiger. So beginnt der Oikos *Τῶ τυφλωθέντι Ἀδάμ* des Kontakions K 20 *Τὴν σωματικήν σου παρουσίαν* (siehe oben schon) mit der Zeile :

0
2 P 1 d^1 d^1 d^1d^1 $f^1d^1d^1f^1e^1f^1g^1f^1e^1d^1c^1d^1c^1c^1c^1$ $c^1d^1e^1d^1c^1d^1c^1d^1$ e^1e^1
Τῶ τυ-φλω-θέν- *τι* *Ἀ-* *δάμ*

Hierhinter steht die Legetos-Signatur *λγτο* mit den Neumen 1, 1, – 1, – 1, also, da e^1 die Schlußnote war, $f^1g^1f^1e^1$, und entsprechend beginnt die folgende Zeile auch mit e^1. Seine Intonationsformel $e^1f^1g^1f^1e^1$ also ist aber der des sticherarischen 2 P – $e^1g^1f^1e^1$ – sehr ähnlich und es scheint, als ob man diesen unter dieser Bezeichnung in das enharmonische System aufgenommen hat, – da der chromatische 2P schon vorhanden ist, offenbar diatonisch. Ebenso steht der Legetos in den kalophonen Kontakien des Sinai gr. 1262 (geschrieben 1436/1437 a.d.), etwa f. 21, – das Stück von Kukuzeles !

5. Die nachbyzantinische Harmonik

Die nachbyzantinische Epoche der griechischen Musik besitzt eine erhebliche Bedeutung, da sie eine große Anzahl hervorragender Komponisten hervorgebracht hat, deren Kompositionen noch heute den Grundstock des kirchlichen Musikrepertoires bilden. Dabei haben diese Komponisten entweder eigene Kompositionen geschaffen oder aber ältere Stücke ornamentiert, um sie auf diese Weise dem Stil des 17./18./19. Jh. anzupassen.

Um die Harmonik dieser Kompositionen zu untersuchen, gehe ich wieder von 4 A 1 gleich c^1 aus. Der 1. Vers des Polyeleos (Ps. 134) des Petrus Lampadarius Peloponnesius beginnt f. 87 v. der Handschrift Paris Bibl. Nat. suppl. gr., 1333, die – siehe den zitierten Catalogue von Ch. Astruc, S. 654 – am 14.10.1783 in Smyrna vollendet wurde, mit der Generalsignatur 1 P 1 und der Neume 1 ; die 1. musikalische Zeile endet mit der ZS 1 A 1, die zweite mit 4 A 5. Setzt man dies gleich g^1, also 4 A 1 gleich c^1, so muß das Stück mit e^1 beginnen und wegen der Neume + 1 steht der 1 P 1 dann auf d^1 und ebenso ergibt sich für die ZS 1 A 1 d^1. Der 1 A ist tetraphonisch: er gründet sich in der Tiefe auf eine Quinte $g^0a^0b^0c^1d^1$, darauf die Quinte $d^1e^1f^1g^1a^1$, darüber die Quinte $a^1h^1c^2d^2e^2$. In der Tiefe kadenziert er gern auf a^0, das aber ebenso die Basis der unteren Quinte des tetraphonen 2 A ist (siehe gleich) und das man daher in diesem durch eine aus α und β (dies in der byzantinischen Musik immer in seiner anderen Gestalt als u) zusammengesetzte ZS kennzeichnet.

Der 24. Abschnitt dieses Polyeleos, *Κληρονομίαν Ἰσραήλ*, beginnt mit der AS 1 P 1 auf d^1, um die 1. Zeile auf e^1 zu schließen, dem die Signatur $\lambda\gamma\tau$ folgt. Der Legetos steht also auch hier wie in den kalophonen Kontakien auf e^1. In derselben Handschrift beginnt f. 98 ein anderer Polyeleos desselben Komponisten in dem Kirchenton 3 P. Zwei Zeilen, *Ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπου* und *Ἐξαπέστειλε*, laufen in der Mitte in denselben Schluß $d^1e^1d^1c^1b^0b^0c^1d^1e^1c^1d^1e^1e^1$ aus. Die 1. Zeile setzt hierhinter die ZS $\lambda\gamma\tau$, die zweite aber 2 A 5. Das letztere ergibt den eine Quinte tiefer transponierten 2 A auf a^0. Der AS 3 P 1 entspricht b^0, – wie wir gleich sehen werden, ebenfalls tetraphonisch. Nun ist der Legetos heute und sicher auch damals schon diatonisch. Nimmt man an, daß eine Zeilensignatur besagt, daß bereits ein größerer oder kleinerer Teil des ihr vorangehenden Zeilenschlusses in dem durch sie angedeuteten Kirchenton steht, so würde, wenn man annimmt, daß sie sich im vorliegenden Fall wenigstens auf die drei letzten Noten bezieht, bereits eine Differenz entstehen, wenn man annimmt, daß der 2 A wie heute chromatisch ist. Denn ein chromatischer 2 A hätte die Tonfolge $[a^0b^0]cis^1d^1e^1$, der diatonische Legetos aber $c^1d^1e^1$. Will man dieser Schlußfolgerung entgehen, so kann man nur annehmen, daß eine ZS sich nur auf den letzten vorangehenden Ton bezieht. In der Tat nimmt das die heutige griechische Musiktheorie an, – aber sie ist nicht für das 18.

Jh. verbindlich. Für den 5. Ton dieses Schlusses habe ich der AS 3 P 1 entsprechend b^0 angesetzt; aber wahrscheinlich benutzt die Melodie mit Helxis h^0.

Ich gebe ein Beispiel für eine ähnliche Kollision am Anfang eines Stückes. Die Handschrift Paris Bibl. Nat. suppl. gr. 1046, am 29.5.1795 beendet (siehe Ch. Astruc, a.a.O. S. 163), bringt auf f. 105 v. folgende eine Doxologie des Protopsalten Daniel. Die AS ist 3 P 1, die Anfangsneume 7. Melodiegleich ist die Zeile *Ὑμνοῦμεν σέ*. Aber sie zeichnet 2 A 5 vor. Setzt man den tetraphonen Barys auf die Quinte $b^0c^1d^1e^1f^1$, so wird seine zweite Quinte $f^1g^1a^1h^1c^2$. Es ist sehr eigenartig, aber nicht zu umgehen, daß dem Grundton b^0 die querständige Oktave h^1 entspricht (siehe den Anfang dieses Aufsatzes) und daß diese übermäßige Oktave durch die einfache Oktavneume 7 angedeutet wird, – man hätte 7,5 erfinden müssen. Die Vorzeichnung 2 A 5 bezeichnet die 2. Quinte des tetraphonen 2 A auf e^1. Es liegt wieder sehr nahe, anzunehmen, daß auch der 2 A diatonisch ist.

Vor der Behandlung der Chromatik noch die weiteren diatonischen Kirchentöne! Das *Αἰνεῖτε τὸν κύριον* in suppl. gr. 1046, f. 152 hat 3 A 5 vorgezeichnet und bringt als nächste ZS [4 P]nn. Setzt man dies auf c^2, den 4 P also auf g^1, so ergibt sich für 3 A 5 c^2 und für 3 A 1 also f^1. In einem anderen Fall, f. 209 v. der Handschrift Paris Bibl. Nat. suppl. gr. 1135 (nach Ch. Astruc a.a.O. S. 253 wahrscheinlich zwischen 1754 und 1759 in Zypern angefertigt), führt die AS 3 A 5 gleich c^2 im Verlauf des Stückes zu 3 P 1 gleich f^1 und 3 P 1 gleich c^2. Beide Stücke enden dann auch auf c^2. Natürlich kann man tetraphon auch alles um eine Quinte tiefer ansetzen.

Wir haben eben schon einen 4 P auf g^1 gehabt. Wieder im Polyeleos des Daniel Protopsaltes in suppl. gr. 1333, f. 76 v., kommt man in der Zeile *Καὶ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν* bei der AS 4 A 5 gleich g^1 ebenfalls auf einen [4 P]nn gleich c^2, – diesmal also bei dem tiefen Ansatz 4 A 1 gleich c^1. Normal dagegen setzt man den 4 P auf c^1. So tut es etwa die in der modernen Chrysanthos-Notation geschrieben Handschrift Paris Bibl. Nat. suppl. gr. 1138 (nach Ch. Astruc, a.a.O. S. 262 «19. s., vers 1820 ?» geschrieben), wenn sie dem 4 P des Hymnus akathistos p. 309 *Νη*, das ist unser c^1, hinzufügt. Diese Komposition stammt wieder von Petrus Lampadarius und das den Kompositionszyklus sowohl in suppl. gr. 1138 wie in suppl. gr. 1333, f. 55 beginnende Theos kyrios beginnt gleich wieder mit dem

typischen Abwärtsgang $c^1h^oa^og^o$ des Makam Rast, – wie der 4 P im Lehrgedicht des Kukuzeles (siehe oben).

Die Kirchentöne 2 A und 2 P sind heute beide chromatisch, 2 A mit der Leiter $c^1des^1e^1f^1g^1as^1h^1c^2$ und dem Grundton e^1 (!), 2 P mit der Leiter $d^1es^1fis^1g^1a^1b^1cis^2d^2$. Die Handschrift suppl. gr. 1333 überliefert f. 379 folgende auch eine Neukomposition des berühmten Doxastikons der Dichterin Kassiane. Mit der AS 4 P 1 und der Anfangsneume + 1 lautet die 1. Zeile dann so :

+1
4 P 1 d^1 $h^oh^oc^1$ c^1c^1 c^1 c^1 c^1 e^1d^1 c^1 c^1 $e^1f^1e^1$ d^1 1 P 1
Κύ-ρι- *ε* *ή* *ἐν πολ-λαῖς ἁ-μαρ-τί-* *αις*

die 2. Zeile :

PhNnn
$e^1f^1e^1d^1c^1$ d^1h^o c^1c^1 h^oas^o g^og^o g^og^o 2 A 3
πε- *ρι-πε-* *σού-σα* *γύ-* *νη*

Hier steht in der 2. Zeile über den Neumen für c^1c^1 die Phthora aus schräg durchstrichenen Kreis, die ich oben Ph 2 genannt habe. Genauer ist sie in den Papadiken die Phthora des 2 P Nnn und so will ich sie demgemäß nun als PhNnn bezeichnen ; denn in dieser nachbyzantinischen Periode tritt jetzt auch die Phthora des 2 A auf, wieder ein kleiner Kreis, aber wagerecht durchstrichen, – so schon fälschlich in Athen 2458 (siehe oben). Die PhNnn steht hier am Beginn des Abstiegs, die ZS 2 A 3 am Ende (2). An einer späteren Stelle – über *[φό-]βω ἐκρύβη* – erscheint wieder derselbe Gang mit ebenso der PhNnn und 2 A 3, aber die nächste Zeil beginnt mit c^1 und der oben als Ph bezeichneten Phthora, die die Phthora des 3 A 5/4 Pnn ist (siehe oben) – Kreis senkrecht durchstrichen – und die die diatonische Quarte unter dem Spitzenton c^1 bezeichnet. Wäre nun der Abwärtsgang auch diatonisch, so hätte die diatonische Phnn, wie ich sie jetzt schreiben will, keinen Sinn. Die Phthorai bezeichnen wie die ZS Modulationen : die Phnn als diatonische Ph kann nur bedeuten, daß die Melodie zum diatonischen 4 P zurückkehrt, nachdem die Melodie vorher im chromatischen 2 P

(2) Die Stelle ist tonmalerisch : der Abwartsgang von f^1 bis g^o stellt den schrittweisen Fall der gefallenen Sunderin dar, die Chromatik ihre Sünde und Schmerzen.

verlief. Daß der Abschluß dieser Partie durch 2 A 3 und nicht durch 2 P 1 geschieht, ist unlogisch, – normalerweise steht auch tatsächlich 2 P 1 in den Handschriften. Doch ist 2 A 3 nicht falsch : häufig steht die chromatische Quarte auf g^1 als Beispiel, dann trägt c^2 die PhNnn, g^1 die ZS 2 P 1 ; aber g^1 ist ja gleichzeitig 2 A 3 des 2 A auf e^1 (siehe eben). Gewiß ist diese Überlegung kein absoluter Beweis für die Chromatik des 2 P ; die Phnn würde auch eine Rückmodulation andeuten, wenn der 2 P diatonisch wäre, – denn dann hätte diese Phrase die Töne $c^2b^1as^1g^1$ und Phnn wäre die Rückkehr zu $c^2h^1a^1g^1$. Wenn ich es für sehr wahrscheinlich halte, daß der 2 P in dieser Zeit bereits chromatisch ist, so einmal, weil es den Anschluß an die neugriechische Harmonik herstellt – man möchte nicht gern annehmen, daß Chrysanthos die liturgische Musik der griechischen Kirche chromatisiert hat –, und zweitens, weil hier plötzlich die Phthorai benutzt werden, auf die man bisher verzichtet hatte, sodaß sie vielleicht etwas andeuten dürften, was es bisher nicht gab, was ich, wie auch das Folgende, in einer eigenen Studie eingehend behandeln werde.

Nun wird man sagen, daß auch der 2 A chromatisch ist, da 2 A 3 für 2 P 1 eintritt ; aber das ist nicht unbedingt gesagt, – denn da die chromatische Partie hier endet und eine diatonische Partie folgt, könnte gerade die ZS eines diatonischen 2 A 3 andeuten, daß hier der Schlußton nicht mehr 2 P 1 chromatisch, sondern bereits 2 A 3 diatonisch ist. Nun hat aber auch der 2 A seine Phthora, den wagerecht durchstrichenen Kreis, und sie wird ebenso häufig benutzt. In suppl. gr. 1135 (siehe oben) steht p. 24 v. ein ἕτερον φθορικόν genanntes Stück im 1 P 1 mit dem Anfang $d^1a^1g^1a^1a^1h^1$ und mit dieser Ph 2 A über h^1 und der ZS 2 A 5 dahinter ; im weiteren schwankt das Stück immer zwischen den ZS 1 A 1 und 2 A 5. Die Ph 2 A wird für den unteren Ton der [chromatischen] Quarte benutzt, wo die PhNnn den oberen Ton bezeichnet, aber nicht wie die ZS am Ende einer chromatischen absteigenden Phrase, sondern am Beginn einer chromatisch aufsteigenden Phrase. Daneben kommt sie auch für den 3. Ton der Quarte vor, dies auch absteigend, etwa in suppl. gr. 1046, f. 128 in der Folge $a^1gis^1f^1e^1$ über gis^1. Das führt zur chrysanthischen Praxis, die Ph 2 A für den unteren Ton des chromatischen Sekundintervalls, die PhNnn für dessen oberen zu verwenden. Am Anfang einer Phrase könnte wieder die Ph 2 A sich noch diatonisch auf vorangegangene Diatonik beziehen.

Freilich geht nicht immer auch 2 A voraus, wie man dann annehmen sollte. So steht f. 89 in suppl. gr. 1046 eine Gruppe 3 P 1 gleich f^1, dann g^1, a^1 mit Ph 2 A, b^1, a^1, g^1. Es ist nicht möglich, g^1 als 2 A 3 aufzufassen, denn, da gleich 2 P 1 im Chromatischen, müßte as^1 folgen. Vielmehr deutet Ph 2 A ein beginnendes chromatisches Tetrachord $a^1b^1cis^1d^2$ an, das außerordentlich häufig ist.

Bei dieser Sachlage der Vermischung der Ph und der ZS von 2 A und 2 P hielte ich es für das plausibelste, einen chromatischen gemeinsamen Ton 2 A/2 P anzunehmen und ihn zu unterscheiden von dem diatonischen 2 A 5, der mit dem Legetos identisch ist (siehe oben im Barys-Beispiel).

Diese Chromatik kann auf allen Tonhöhen stehen, am beliebtesten auf d^1 – dies führte offenbar Chrysanthos dazu, den 2 P auf d^1 zu setzen – und unter c^2 (also $[c^1des^1e^1f^1]g^1as^1h^1c^2$) – und dies führte ihn wohl dazu, um 2 A und 2 P als verschiedene Töne zu retten, den 2 A auf c^1 zu setzen. Sehr gern steht die Chromatik auch auf h^0, – das ergibt den bei Chrysanthos «modulierenden» Barys mit $h^0c^1dis^1e^1fis^1g^1ais^1h^1$; und der ist wieder einwandfrei türkisch, – die griechische Musiktheorie des 19. Jh., etwa die «Hermeneia» des Stephan A. Domestikos und Konstantin Protosaltes 1843, setzt den Barys mit dem türkischen Makam Irak gleich und dieser hat ebenfalls die Möglichkeit der Modulation $e^1fis^1g^1ais^1h^1$ (vgl. Suphi Ezgi, Türk Musikisi, I, 1933, S. 256).

Wenn das Vorkommen von einzelnen PhNnn mir also keine Beweiskraft für ihre chromatische Bedeutung zu besitzen scheint (siehe oben bei Kukuzeles' Lehrgedicht in der Handschrift Sinai gr. 1323), so dürfte das Verfahren, die PhNnn mit der Ph 2 A oder mit den ZS 2 P 1 oder 2 A 3 zu verbinden, um Anfang und Ende einer Phrase zu bezeichnen, doch sehr für eine chromatische Deutung sprechen. Wo auf eine PhNnn später eine Phnn auf derselben Tonhöhe (siehe oben bei *ἐκρύβη*) folgt, hat die Phnn geradezu die Bedeutung unseres heutigen Auflösungszeichens. Diese Praxis der Kopplung läßt sich nun aber tatsächlich weiter zurück verfolgen : sie findet sich schon in der Handschrift Sinai gr. 1281, die man in das 15. Jh. setzt. Sie enthält etwa f. 5 folgende einen Akathistos des Kompositen Iohannes Lampadarios, wo f. 5 v., Zeile 15 am Ende, die Neumenfolge – 1, – 1, – 1, – 1, + 2 erscheint, über dem ersten – 1 die PhNnn, über + 2 die Phnn. Das könnte dann die Folge $c^2h^1as^1g^1b^1$ (oder türkisch $g^2fis^2es^2d^2f^2$ mit der Auflösung von fis^2 zu

f^2) sein. Eine solche Folge PhNnn-Phnn findet sich dort auch etwa f. 6 v., Zeile 3/4. Auf f. 6 findet sich Zeile 4 die ZS 4 A für c^1, von wo die Melodie schnell Zeile 6 auf c^2 springt, wo PhNnn steht, am Schluß der Gruppe auf g^1 die beendende ZS 2 P 1 – also hier schon das Verfahren der Handschriften des 17./18. Jh. –, dann geht es wieder hoch zu c^2 mit PhNnn und herunter mit derselben Melodie wie eben zu g^1 ; über dem die nächste Gruppe beginnenden g^1 steht die Ph 4 A, Kreis mit schrägem Strich von links oben nach rechts unten, – die «Auflösung» auch graphisch der PhNnn, deren schräger Strich von rechts oben nach links unten geht. Gewiß könnte der 2 P Nnn auch stets diatonisch $c^2b^1as^1g^1$ sein mit der Auflösung zu $c^2h^1a^1g^1$, aber die absolute Gleichheit der Ph-Ph- und Ph-ZS-Kombinierung erfordert auch die gleiche Deutung wie im 17.-19. Jh., – also wohl die chromatische. Dann aber läßt sich die Chromatik bis in die kalophone Periode, das heißt, bis auf die Zeit des Kukuzeles zurück verfolgen, – nach meiner Datierung des Lehrgedichts (siehe oben) also bis ins 13. Jh. Dann aber wird man auch einzelne PhNnn als chromatisch auffassen dürfen.

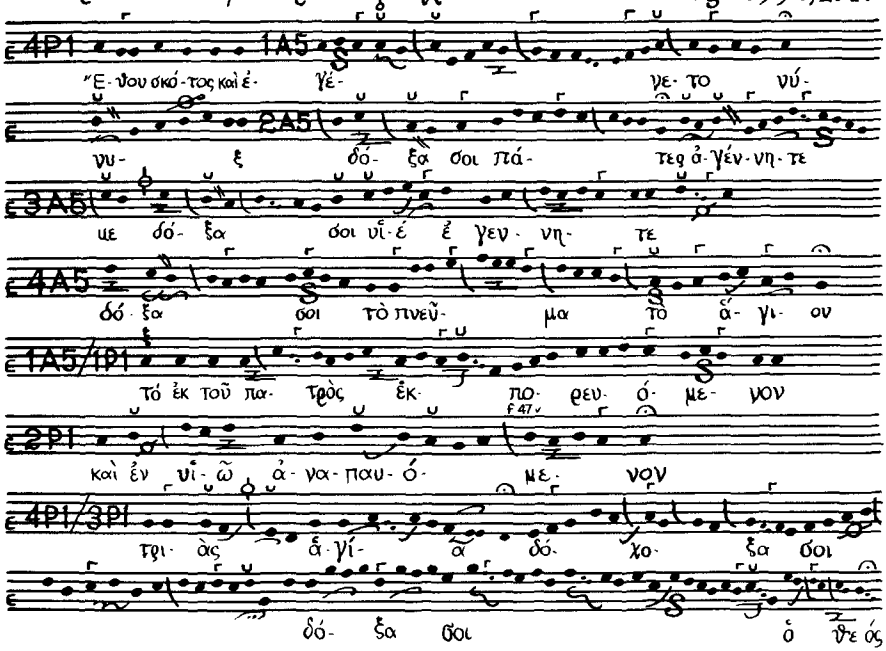
Auch die eben besprochene Tonartenanordnung der nachbyzantinischen Musik läßt sich so weit zurückverfolgen. In der Liturgie des Großen Hesperinos (= Vesper) ist der Vers *Ἔθου σκότος* des Einleitungspsalms 103 von [Johannes] Lampadarius «oktomodal» komponiert, sodaß man wieder das ganze Tonartensystem vor sich hat. Die Komposition ist etwa in Sinai gr. 1552 (15. Jh.) f. 47 und Vat. Barb. gr. 300 (15. Jh.) f. 23 überliefert. Ich gebe das Stück im Appendix nach der Handschrifte Sinai gr. 1552 heraus. Wenn man den beginnenden 4 P 1 auf c^1 setzt, ist man nach wenigen Noten im 1 A 5 auf d^1, also 1 A 1 auf g^0 (sticherarisch mit b^0), der 2 A 5gleich e^1 gibt einen (diatonischen) 2 A 1 auf a^0, der 3 A 5 gleich f^1 ergibt einen 3 A 1 auf b^0, der 4 A 5 gleich g^1 gibt 4 A 1 gleich c^1. Sinai gr. 1552 schreibt dann die bezeichnende Doppelsignatur 1 A 5/1 P 1 gleich d^1, der 2 P 1 steht wie heute ebenfalls auf d^1, 4 P und 3 P sind gleichgesetzt und 4 P 1/3 P 1 steht auf c^1. Wieder beginnt der Abwärtsgang des Rast und später geht es bis c^2 herauf, – alles recht ähnlich dem 4 P im Lehrgedicht des Kukuzeles. Das ist genau das nachbyzantinische System mit dem [Legetos/]2 A 5 auf e^1 und dem [2 A 1/]2 P 1 auf d^1 (zusammen mit dem 1 P 1). Es existierte also bereits zu Kukuzeles' Zeit. Damit ergibt sich, daß wir im 13. Jh. vier tonale Systeme nebeneinander hatten : das konjunkte System der

Kontakien mit dem Halbton oben in der Quart, das modulierende konjunkte System des Lehrgedichts des Kukuzeles, dann das sticherarische System mit diatonischem 2 A auf e^1 und chromatischem 2 P auf d^1, das in direktem historischem Zusammenhang in das System des 17.-19. Jh. führt, das wiederum, mit leichten Änderungen, das System der drei Didaskaloi ist, die auch einen chromatischen 2 A und den enharmonischen 3 A/3 P der Kontakien eingliederten, endlich das weiterlebende klassische System mit dem 2 P auf e^1, bezeugt etwa durch das Ison des Johannes Glykys, angeblich Schüler des Kukuzeles, überliefert Brüssel BR IV 515, f. 6/7. Bemerkenswert ist der starke turkische Einfluß, der sich leicht erklärt: wenn Kukuzeles, der «Meister», schon in der Mitte des 13. Jh. lebte, wie ich glaube, dann lebte er nicht im lateinischen Konstantinopel, sondern im griechischen Kaisertum von Nikäa, und dieses stand in regem Verkehr und Handel mit dem ihm benachbarten Reich der türkischen Rum-Seldschuken, – nach der Rückeroberung von Konstantinopel 1261 weiterhin ebenso.

Göttingen. Heinrich Husmann.

Appendix: Ἔνθου σκότος

Ἕτερον τοῦ λαμπαρίου ὀκτάηχον Sinai gr. 1552, f. 47



DE L'INFLUENCE DU CÉRÉMONIAL BYZANTIN SUR LE SACRE DES ROIS DE FRANCE (*)

Il a été démontré clairement que la connaissance du cérémonial peut conduire à la compréhension des conceptions de gouvernement. L'étude d'Otto Treitinger sur les idées impériales byzantines, exprimées dans les cérémonies de la cour, reste indispensable pour qui souhaite examiner les conceptions de l'Empire byzantin ; Percy Ernst Schramm, en écrivant ses nombreuses publications sur la royauté en Europe occidentale, fonda celles-ci sur une connaissance sans pareille des sacres et couronnements ; et Ernst H. Kantorowicz et Ralph E. Giesey se servirent beaucoup du cérémonial en composant leurs études sur les deux corps du roi et sur les funérailles royales en France au bas moyen âge et pendant la Renaissance (1).

Le cérémonial le plus frappant en Occident depuis l'Antiquité est bien sûr celui de Byzance, suivi par celui de la France. Le rituel détaillé de la cour française pendant les XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles a conduit plusieurs érudits à le caractériser comme «byzantin» ou, plus exactement, «quasi byzantin» (2). Il est donc un peu étonnant à

(*) Cette étude a pu être écrite grâce à une subvention gracieusement accordée par l'*American Council of Learned Societies* et par l'accueil aimable de l'*Institute for Research in the Humanities de l'Université de Wisconsin*.

(1) Otto TREITINGER. *Die oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee nach ihrer Gestaltung im höfischen Zeremoniell*, Iena, 1938. Les œuvres de Schramm sont discutées un peu partout, et on en trouve une bonne bibliographie dans *Festschrift Percy Ernst Schramm*, éd. par Peter Classen et Peter Scheibert, Wiesbaden, 1964, II, pp. 291-316. Ernst H. KANTOROWICZ, *The King's Two Bodies : A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology*, Princeton, 1957. Ralph E. GIESEY, *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France, Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 37, Genève, 1960.

(2) Par exemple, J. S. BROMLEY, *The Decline of Absolute Monarchy (1683-1774)*, dans *France : Government and Society*, éd. par J. M. Wallace-Hadrill et John McManners, Londres, 1957, p. 139 parle de la «vision of kingship [de Louis XIV] which had made the old king so cleverly insist on the exact observance of a quasi-byzantine ceremonial».

vrai dire, qu'aucune étude n'ait été consacrée à l'influence byzantine sur le cérémonial français. Il est vrai que Ernst Kantorowicz consacra en fait à Byzance une grande partie de son étude sur le symbolisme solaire et toutes ses ramifications, et qu'il la fit suivre d'une discussion à propos du symbolisme du Roi Soleil, mais il passa de l'Empire romain médiéval à la France du XVIIe siècle sans faire plus qu'impliquer une ressemblance entre les deux (3). Les pages qui suivent tenteront de combler en partie cette lacune ; elles portent sur la seule cérémonie qui a été étudiée suffisamment, celle du sacre des rois de France.

Il y a deux éléments principaux dans cette cérémonie du sacre : le premier est le couronnement, qui fut à son origine un acte séculier ; et l'autre est l'acte ecclésiastique de la consécration – l'onction, ou sacre – qui fut introduit dans l'histoire de la royauté occidentale avec l'onction de Pépin le Bref en 751. On commença à combiner ces deux éléments en une seule cérémonie peu après le début du IXe siècle, et vers la fin du siècle la fusion était déjà achevée, grâce surtout à quatre *ordines* de sacre qui furent composés par Hincmar, archevêque de Reims ; dès lors le cérémonial du sacre occidental ne restait plus un acte séculier, étant devenu un rite ecclésiastique qui rendait indispensable l'intervention de l'Église lors de l'accession d'un roi (4).

L'onction ne fut pas influencée par le cérémonial byzantin, mais, au contraire, une onction fondée sur le modèle de l'Occident fut établie à Byzance, peut-être déjà au XIe siècle. L'histoire du couronnement suit un autre déroulement.

Le couronnement du souverain byzantin apparaît comme une survivance des pratiques romaines. A son tour, ce modèle byzantin fut copié, nous semble-t-il, par quelques rois germaniques en Occident, mais c'est presque tout ce que nous pouvons dire avec certitude, car nous sommes malheureusement assez mal renseignés sur l'époque mérovingienne en ce qui concerne le cérémonial. Il nous importe de savoir que l'histoire de l'influence byzantine sur le cérémonial occidental ne commence pas avant que l'âge carolingien

(3) E. H. KANTOROWICZ, *Oriens Augusti-Lever du Roi*, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 17 (1963), pp. 119-77.

(4) Je donne des détails dans mon étude, *Vivat Rex : A History of the French Coronation Ceremony from Charles V to Charles X* (à paraître), chap. I et XIII.

ait établi en Europe occidentale un empire qui, par la suite, fit concurrence à celui d'Orient. Le modèle byzantin fut consulté plusieurs fois au cours des siècles avant la mort de Frédéric II, me semble-t-il, de manière fort discontinue (5). Autrement dit, il est bien vrai que le cérémonial byzantin laissa son empreinte sur la pratique et la pensée occidentales, mais cela ne fut que sporadiquement, et surtout par le moyen de l'Empire occidental. Ce n'est que dans la mesure où ce dernier agissait sur la France, qu'on peut constater une influence byzantine sur le moyen âge français. Il ne m'a pas été possible d'établir le bien-fondé d'un seul cas dans ce domaine où la France ait fait un emprunt direct à l'Orient avant le milieu du XVIe siècle.

La partie la plus vivante de la cérémonie française venait après l'onction royale et l'investiture des symboles d'autorité. Le roi était alors conduit à une plateforme dressée au milieu de l'église, où l'officiant, normalement l'archevêque de Reims, le faisait asseoir sur un trône surélevé. L'officiant retirait sa mitre, donnait au roi nouvellement intronisé le baiser d'hommage, et criait : *Vivat rex in aeternum* ! Les pairs de France ou leurs représentants suivaient son exemple, mais aussitôt que le premier *vivat rex* était poussé, les milliers de spectateurs dans l'église reprenaient le cri, «Vive le roi !» et, avant que l'archevêque de Reims n'entonnât le *Te Deum*, l'artillerie à l'extérieur de l'église tirait plusieurs salves (6). Une coutume nouvelle, intéressante pour nous fut introduite dans ce cérémonial en France, lors du sacre de Henri II en 1547 : les hérauts jetèrent une multitude de pièces de monnaie et de jetons de sacre à ceux qui avaient eu le bonheur d'être admis dans l'église (7).

Dans un ouvrage publié pendant le règne de Louis XIII, *La France métallique*, Jacques de Bie a dessiné les médailles ou jetons de sacre frappés pour Pépin le Bref, Louis II, Hugues Capet et pour

(5) Les études de Werner OHNSORGE, *Das Zweikaiserproblem im früheren Mittelalter*, Hildesheim, 1947, *Abendland und Byzanz*, Darmstadt, 1958, et *Konstantinopel und der Okzident*, Darmstadt, 1966 donnent quelques renseignements, mais cet auteur ne consacre aucune partie de son œuvre à ce problème précis.

(6) Voir mon *Vivat Rex*, chap. II, IV/VII.

(7) *L'ordre observé au sacre et couronnement du roy Henry II*, dans Théodore GODEFROY et Denis GODEFROY, *Le cérémonial françois*, Paris, 1649, I, p. 290.

tous les rois de France suivants, sauf pour Charles IV et Louis XII [8]. Tous les exemplaires antérieurs à Henri II sont faux. Les jetons qui furent frappés pour le sacre d'Henri II sont les premiers du genre, et ils servirent de modèles pour la plupart des cérémonies suivantes : l'avers porte le portrait du roi et la date de son sacre ; et au-dessus de la ville de Reims au revers une main sort des nuages, ou une colombe descend du ciel, avec la sainte ampoule, qui est caractérisée par une devise. Les jetons de sacre par la suite n'eurent pas de grandeur spécifique, et ils pouvaient être soit en argent, soit en or [9].

Si les jetons commémoratifs apparaissent pour la première fois en 1547 dans le cérémonial français, ils ne sont cependant pas les premiers documents numismatiques à y intervenir, car les pièces de monnaie y jouaient depuis longtemps un rôle important. A l'époque carolingienne déjà les *ordines* de sacre exigeaient des rois qu'ils fassent une offrande de pain et de vin à l'église cathédrale pendant la messe qui terminait la cérémonie. Le soi-disant *ordo* de Reims ajouta au XIIIe siècle «treize pièces de monnaie d'or (*XIII aureos*)» à cette offrande ancienne [10]. L'origine de ce nombre «treize» n'a pu être expliquée jusqu'aujourd'hui. On a suggéré que ces pièces avaient fait partie de l'offrande depuis les temps les plus reculés de la monarchie, hypothèse sans aucune base historique, ou qu'elles avaient quelque rapport avec la cérémonie du mariage, interprétation inacceptable avant les nouveautés cérémonielles du XVIe siècle [11]. Je montre

(8) *La France métallique, contenant les actions célèbres tant publiques que privées des rois et reynes*, Paris, 1636.

(9) Sur les jetons, voir les deux études d'Adrien BLANCHET, *Médailles et jetons du sacre des rois de France*, *Études de numismatique*, 1 (1892), pp. 191-220, et *Manuel de numismatique française*, t. III, *Médailles, jetons, méreaux*, Paris, 1930 Le modèle pour l'avers des jetons était, sans doute, l'ancien grand sceau de Saint-Remi, décrit par Guillaume Marlot, *Le théâtre d'honneur, et de magnificence, préparé au sacre des roys*, Reims, 1643, p. 251.

(10) *Reims Bibl. Mun.*, 328, fol. 72[v] Sur les *ordines* français en général, voir Percy Ernst SCHRAMM, *Ordines-Studien II · Die Krönung bei den Westfranken und den Franzosen*, *Archiv für Urkundenforschung*, 15 (1938), pp. 3-55, qui doit être complété par ma contribution, *A Reappraisal of the French Coronation Ordines of the Middle Ages* (encore inédit), au Colloque International d'Histoire sur les Sacres et Couronnements Royaux, Reims, octobre 1975.

(11) J. M. C. LEBER, *Des cérémonies du sacre*, Paris, 1825, pp. 422-37. MARLOT, *Le théâtre d'honneur*, pp. 687-88, semble avoir été le premier à établir un rapport

ailleurs que l'*ordo* de Reims date d'environ 1230 (et non d'environ 1270, comme l'a proposé Schramm), date qui est fondée sur des preuves intrinsèques (12). Autant que nous puissions en juger, c'est peu après 1225, au plus tôt, que le nombre des pairs de France fut porté à douze. Je voudrais donc suggérer que les treize pièces d'or que le roi devait donner à l'Église le représentaient avec ses douze pairs (13). Il est aussi possible que le chiffre fut choisi parce qu'il rappelait le Christ et ses douze apôtres, en parallèle avec le roi et ses pairs. Une *christomimesis* intéressante, semblable à celle de l'Empire romain oriental, apparaît quelquefois au cours de l'histoire de la royauté française (14), mais il est loin d'être certain que le nombre des pièces offertes au sacre ait été un exemple de cette coutume. Il suffira pour le moment de noter simplement que treize pièces d'or firent leur apparition pendant la première partie du règne de Saint-Louis.

Par la suite, l'offrande subit une mutation fascinante. Dans le texte qu'on appelle le dernier *ordo* capétien, l'expression *XIII aureos* fut modifiée en «treize besants d'or (*tredecim bisentios aureos*)», et elle fut répétée dans l'*ordo* de Charles V de 1365 (*tresdecim bisantos aureos*) (15). Comme le dernier *ordo* capétien date de la deuxième moitié du règne de Louis IX – le manuscrit pontifical qui contient la copie la plus ancienne du texte de cet *ordo* est orné des miniatures qui appuient la date – les besants furent précisés après que le nombre des pièces eut été établi à treize (16). Pourquoi ?

entre les jetons et le mariage. Je discute du symbolisme du mariage et de ses rapports avec le sacre dans *Vivat Rex*, chap. VI ; je ne pense pas qu'on puisse parler du mariage du roi avec le royaume avant le XVIe siècle.

(12) *Vivat Rex*, chap. III, et aussi *A Reappraisal of the French Coronation Ordines*.

(13) Ferdinand LOT, *Quelques mots sur l'origine des pairs de France*, *Revue historique*, 54 (1894), pp. 34-59 ; Robert HOLTZMANN, *Französische Verfassungsgeschichte von der Mitte des neunten Jahrhunderts bis zur Revolution*, Munich et Berlin, 1910, pp. 231-35 ; Jean-Pierre LABATUT, *Les ducs et pairs de France au XVIIe siècle : Étude sociale*, *Publications de la Sorbonne*, N.S. Recherches 1, Paris, 1972, pp. 41-56. Le premier *ordo* manuscrit, le dernier *ordo* capétien (voir *infra*, n. 15), à nommer tous les douze pairs ne date que de la dernière partie du règne de Louis IX.

(14) Pour la France, je donne quelques exemples dans *Vivat Rex*, chap. XIII. Pour Byzance, voir TREITINGER (*supra*, n. 1) et KANTOROWICZ (*supra*, n. 3).

(15) *Paris Bibl. Nat. lat. n.a.*, 1202, fol. 139^v^ ; Londres, *Brit. Mus. Cot. Tib. B.*, viii, fol. 63.

(16) Je traite de la date de l'*ordo* dans les ouvrages cités *supra*, n. 12.

Considérer ce changement comme le résultat d'une quelconque influence byzantine sur le cérémonial français, peut-être à la suite des croisades de Louis IX, n'explique pas grand'chose. Il est possible qu'on recourut au besant uniquement parce qu'il était encore une espèce d'étalon international, une pièce de monnaie de valeur reconnue qui circulait en France aussi bien qu'ailleurs. Mais une raison plus plausible de nommer une pièce byzantine, au lieu de quelqu'autre non spécifiée, doit être due à la rivalité entre l'abbaye de Saint-Denis et celle de Saint-Remi de Reims.

Saint-Remi était le gardien de la sainte ampoule, la petite fiole à col étroit qui contenait le baume sacré, lequel, disait-on, fut envoyé du ciel dans le bec d'une colombe pour servir au baptême de Clovis en 496 (date traditionnelle, mais non authentique) [17]. Nous ignorons l'origine du mythe, mais nous savons que ce fut Hincmar de Reims qui le fit connaître en le citant pour appuyer sa prétention au droit exclusif de consacrer les rois francs. Ses successeurs ne réussirent pas à se prévaloir de ce droit avant le XIe siècle, époque à laquelle la légende de la sainte ampoule était en général oubliée, sauf à Reims, où elle avait été introduite dans la liturgie, et où saint Remi maintenait sa réputation presque à titre de saint local [18]. Il y a une allusion à une renaissance du mythe lors du sacre de Louis VII en 1131 [19], mais son introduction définitive dans le cérémonial de sacre remonte seulement à la rédaction de l'*ordo* de Reims, qui consacrait de longs passages à l'ampoule et à son traitement.

On explique malaisément le retour de la légende à cette époque, sinon en la liant aux activités de l'abbaye de Saint-Denis. Cette abbaye avait avec les rois, des rapports spéciaux qui étaient loin d'être nouveaux, mais c'est au XIIe siècle que ses prétentions commencèrent à s'étendre au-delà de toutes les bornes antérieures.

(17) Georges TESSIER, *Le baptême de Clovis, Trente journées qui ont fait la France*, Paris, 1964 Voir aussi la bibliographie citee par Heinz Lowe dans GEBHARDT, *Handbuch der deutschen Geschichte*, 9e éd., édité par Herbert Grundmann, Stuttgart, 1970, I, pp. 112-13, n°s 11-13.

(18) Michel BUR, *Reims, ville des sacres*, contribution au colloque de Reims (*supra*, n. 10), et Percy Ernst SCHRAMM, *Der König von Frankreich : Das Wesen der Monarchie vom 9. zum 16. Jahrhundert*, Weimar, 1939, I, pp. 112-20 Un exemple de Saint Remi dans la liturgie de Reims se trouve dans un bréviaire de Reims (XIe siècle), *Paris, Bibl Nat. lat* , 17991, fol 176

(19) SCHRAMM, *Der König von Frankreich*, I, pp. 147-48.

Son droit, déjà ancien, de garder les insignes de la royauté devint exclusif, grâce à une charte royale ; on commença à associer la couronne et l'épée royales avec Charlemagne, et l'abbaye s'attribua la garde du culte royal et impérial de ce souverain. Au moyen d'une charte falsifiée, attribuée à Charlemagne, et qui disait : *Prohibimus insuper, ne successores nostri Franciae reges alibi quam in ecclesia saepe fati domini Dionysii sint coronati*, l'abbaye de Saint-Denis déniait formellement pour ainsi dire le rôle que jouaient dans le sacre les archevêques de Reims et qu'ils avaient si longtemps lutté pour obtenir (20). Il n'est pas étonnant, donc, que l'abbaye de Saint-Remi (ou le chapitre de l'église cathédrale, ou l'archevêque de Reims ou une quelconque combinaison de tous les trois) dût mettre en œuvre des moyens pour neutraliser les prétentions dionysiennes en appuyant la priorité de Reims sur le miracle associé au baptême de Clovis, dont le rôle de premier roi chrétien des Francs éclipsait celui même du plus grand des souverains carolingiens.

Néanmoins, l'affaire devait s'envenimer au cours du règne de Louis IX. Ce monarque prit l'habitude de placer chaque année quatre besants sur l'autel de Saint-Denis comme marque de son hommage, une coutume qui avait été prévue par la fausse charte (21). La possibilité que le roi de France soit le vassal de Saint-Denis devait être vraiment mal acceptée à Reims, et cela explique la stipulation des besants dans le dernier *ordo* capétien. En précisant les «treize besants d'or» au lieu de la locution imprécise «treize pièces d'or», n'importe quelle offrande faite plus tard à l'autel de Saint-Denis serait neutralisée par celle qu'on aurait déjà faite au sacre à Reims.

(20) *Monumenta Germaniae Historica . Diplomata Karolinorum*, 1, Hanover, 1906, n° 286, p. 429. Sur les prétentions de Saint-Denis en général et la charte en particulier, voir Schramm, *Der König von Frankreich*, I, pp 131-44, et aussi Gabrielle M. Spiegel, *The Cult of Saint Denis and Capetian Kingship*, *Journal of Medieval History*, 1 (1975), pp. 43-69.

(21) *MGH, Dipl. Kar.*, 1, n° 286, p. 429 : *Sanctissime domine Dionysi hiis regni Franciae regiis insigniis et ornamentis libenter me spolio, ut deinceps eius regale habeas, teneas atque possideas dominium et in signum rei quatuor modo aureos tibi offero bizancios, ut omnes tam praesentes quam et futuri sciant et agnoscant, quod a deo solo et a te regnum Franciae teneo tuoque ac tuorum sociorum* [...] *atque obtestans omnes successores nostros reges, ut annuatim simile faciant et in oblatione submittendo ac tangendo caput illos quattuor supradictos bysancios offerant.*

Au cours des deux siècles suivants les besants cessèrent de circuler en Occident, et la description du sacre de Charles VIII en 1484 fait allusion aux pièces comme à «treize escus d'or pour besans» (22). Au sacre de Henri II les pièces furent assimilées aux jetons jetés dans l'église après le cri de *vivat rex*. Il est peu douteux qu'un modèle byzantin fut suivi en 1547.

Notre meilleur source pour le cérémonial byzantin est, bien entendu, le *Livre des cérémonies* de Constantin Porphyrogénète. Il n'eut cependant aucune influence sur le cérémonial du sacre français parce que ni l'un ni l'autre des deux sacres qui eurent lieu après qu'on l'eut redécouvert au XVIIIe siècle (celui de Louis XVI en 1775 et celui de Charles X en 1825), ne trahit la moindre connaissance de l'œuvre de l'empereur du Xe siècle. A défaut de celle-ci, le *De Officiis* du Pseudo-Codinos est le texte le plus important, et c'est là que nous découvrirons un lien entre Byzance et la France.

Les jetons qui furent distribués à l'intérieur de l'église et sur le parvis de l'église lors du sacre d'Henri II, furent très nombreux ; la description de la cérémonie parle «d'environ mille pièces d'or et dix milles pièces d'argent, forgées et frappées de la représentation et effigie dudit Seigneur, avec la date du jour et année de son sainct Sacre et Couronnement, et de autre grande quantité d'escus, et monnoye commune» (23). Une telle largesse était sans précédent dans la cérémonie française, mais non dans celle de Byzance. Le Pseudo-Codinos décrit deux actes séparés de largesses ; le premier a lieu vers le début de la cérémonie, après que l'empereur a signé sa profession de foi, mais avant sa première apparition publique (pour son élévation sur le bouclier et les acclamations suivantes) :

> [...] un des sénateurs à qui l'empereur l'ordonne lance au peuple ce qu'on appelle des *épikombia*. On procède ainsi. On coupe des morceaux d'étoffe dont on entoure trois *nomismata* d'or, autant [de pièces] d'argent et trois oboles, puis on les jette à la foule. On jette de ces bandelettes le nombre de milliers que l'empereur a prescrit. Il est d'usage de jeter ces *épikombia* sur le parvis de la grande église

(22) *Cy-apés s'ensuit la venuë du roy Charles huictiesme de ce nom à Rheims, pour recevoir son sainct sacre et couronnement*, dans GODEFROY, *Le cérémonial françois*, I, p. 204.

(23) *L'ordre observé au sacre et couronnement du roy Henry II*, dans GODEFROY, *Le cérémonial françois*, I, p. 290.

> [Sainte-Sophie], c'est-à-dire dans ce qu'on nomme l'Augoustéôn ; celui qui les lance se tient debout en haut des marches de l'Augoustéôn (24).

Le jour après le couronnement l'empereur doit aller aux autres palais.

> où à nouveau des *épikombia* sont lancés au peuple par un sénateur. L'empereur de son côté se rend le même jour dans la cour, au lieu où il y a une image du grand martyr saint Georges ; à côté de lui se tient le chef du vestiarion impérial qui a, dans sa robe, un grand nombre de *nomismata* d'or en vrac ; l'empereur les prend et les distribue aux archontes qui l'entourent et aux fils d'archontes en aussi grand nombre qu'il décide. La raison de cette distribution de *nomismata* est le désir de l'empereur que tous les archontes, les fils d'archontes, l'armée et le peuple se réjouissent avec lui, mangeant et buvant aux frais de l'empereur (25).

Le fait que l'*editio princeps* du Pseudo-Codinos ne fut publiée qu'en 1588 n'empêche pas que l'œuvre n'ait fourni le modèle de la largesse d'Henri II. Le *cod. gr.*, 1786 de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris fut copié vers 1540 pour Guillaume Pélicier, ambassadeur de François Ier à Venise de 1539 à 1542. Le manuscrit fut catalogué dans l'inventaire de la Bibliothèque royale de Fontainebleau en 1550, et il n'y a aucune raison de penser qu'il ne fut pas consulté quand on prépara la cérémonie du sacre d'Henri II : ce manuscrit tombait justement au bon endroit et au bon moment (26). Nous savons qu'Henri II s'assura personnellement que les insignes et vêtements royaux à Saint-Denis fussent revus ou refaits pour son sacre, et sans doute exerça-t-il une surveillance semblable sur l'ordre de la cérémonie (27).

(24) PSEUDO-CODINOS, *Traité des offices*, éd. par Jean Verpeaux, Paris, 1966, 255, dont j'utilise la traduction.

(25) *Ibid.*, p. 271.

(26) Voir, pour l'histoire du manuscrit, l'introduction de Verpeaux, pp. 48-50, et la bibliographie qu'il cite. J'ai collationné le manuscrit avec l'édition de Verpeaux, mais il n'y a aucune variante importante aux endroits cités.

(27) *L'ordre observé au sacre et couronnement du roy Henry II*, dans GODEFROY, *Le cérémonial françois*, I, p. 290 : «Ledit Seigneur [...] feit apporter devant luy en son Chastel de Sainct Germain en Laye, les ornemens estans en garde en l'Abbaye de Sainct Denys en France, destinez audit Sacre, et

La signification même de la largesse fut empruntée au cérémonial byzantin dans la mesure où elle fut ajoutée aux diverses formes d'acclamation et de réjouissance, tout comme le Pseudo-Codinos croyait que la réjouissance avait été la cause de la largesse byzantine. Il est donc vrai que la cérémonie française imitait nettement l'autre, mais il faut souligner que cette affirmation n'est valable que pour cet endroit de la cérémonie. L'introduction de la largesse dans le sacre doit son importance non à son origine byzantine – même si c'est toujours un plaisir de pouvoir retrouver la genèse d'une coutume – mais bien au fait que c'est la seule innovation introduite dans le cérémonial français depuis le haut moyen âge dont on peut démontrer qu'elle fut basée sur une coutume de l'Empire romain oriental. Les autres trouvent leur origine dans la vie politique et la pensée françaises ; on peut dire qu'avec le temps la cérémonie française du sacre, quelles qu'aient été les sources de son développement antérieur, devint de plus en plus française.

Il serait intéressant, premièrement, d'étudier d'une manière détaillée les influences byzantines sur le cérémonial occidental du haut moyen âge, et, deuxièmement, d'examiner d'autres cérémonies afin de chercher d'autres liens possibles entre Orient et Occident. Je crains, néanmoins, que les résultats de cette dernière enquête nous apportent trop peu d'éléments pour la cérémonie de sacre, et qu'il soit fallacieux de vouloir exagérer l'influence byzantine sur le cérémonial français depuis le moyen âge.

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Couronnement [...], pour veoir en quel ordre lesdits ornemens estoient. Et pource que ledit Seigneur veit que lesdits [ornemens ...] estoient jà deteriorez et usez par laps de temps, et pour avoir servuy à plusieurs, et autres Sacres et couronnemens de ses predecesseurs, il voulut et luy pleut en faire faire de tous neufs».

L'ENCOMIO DI NICEFORO GREGORA PER IL RE DI CIPRO (UGO IV DI LUSIGNANO)

INTRODUZIONE

1. Fra le opere di Tomaso Magistro, che il Norrmann pubblicò, poco meno di tre secoli fa, dal cod. *Upsal. gr.* 28 (1), compare un encomio del re di Cipro, che non appartiene certamente al grande filologo tessalonicese ; ne è infatti autore Niceforo Gregora, al quale, com'è noto, fu già rivendicato dal Guilland (2).

Va detto subito che l'attribuzione, manifestamente arbitraria, del *logos* a Magistro dipese unicamente dal fatto che in quel codice esso segue, senza nome d'autore (3), immediatamente alle opere del dotto monaco.

L'appartenenza del discorso a Gregora è fuor di discussione : già sufficientemente garantita dalla stessa tradizione manoscritta (4), essa

(1) Cf. *Θεοδούλου μοναχοῦ ἤτοι Θωμᾶ τοῦ Μαγίστρου λόγος εἰς Γρηγόριον τὸν Θεολόγον. Τοῦ αὐτοῦ λόγοι προσφωνητικοὶ δ' καὶ ἐπιστολαὶ η'. Hoc est* Theoduli monachi, sive Thomae Magistri, *Laudatio Gregorii Theologi, Nazianzeni.* Eiusdem *Orationes gratulatoriae IV et Epistolae VIII.* Editore ac interprete Laurentio Norrmanno. Upsalae, 1693. I testi che il dotto trascrisse dal cod. *Upsal. gr.* 28 occupano i seguenti fogli del manoscritto (seguo l'ordine dell'edizione) : ff. 317-386^{v} (*Elogio di Gregorio Nazianzeno. Discorso per il gran stratopedarca Angelo. Discorso per il gran logoteta Teodoro Metochita. Discorso per il patriarca Nifon*) ; ff. 395-396 (*Encomio del re di Cipro*) ; ff. 387-394^{v} (*epp.* 1-6) : ff. 152-154 (*epp.* 7-8). Da notare che l'*ep.* 7 è una lettera di Gregora a Magistro (– *ep.* 91 Leone = 10 Guilland) e l'*ep.* 8 è la risposta di Magistro a Gregora (– *ep. ad Greg.* 3, Leone = 11. Guilland). L'edizione del Norrmann è riprodotta in MIGNE, *P.G.*, CXLV, Paris, 1865, 213-548.

(2) Cf. R. GUILLAND, *Essai sur Nicéphore Grégoras*, Paris, 1926, p. 151.

(3) Nel marg. sup. del f. 395, accanto all'*inscriptio* greca, in cui non compare il nome dell'autore, una mano recentiore ha scritto arbitrariamente : *eiusdem* (*scil.* Thomae Magistri) *ad regem Cypri.* Potrebbe dipendere da questa nota l'errore dell'*editor princeps*.

(4) Cf. *infra*, n. 19 e quanto è detto a proposito del cod. *Angel. gr.* 82.

è altresì confermata dall'irrefutabile testimonianza dell'autore, che in una lettera (5) c'informa espressamente che il *logos* è opera sua; queste le testuali parole di Gregora: *Βουλοίμην μὲν γὰρ ἂν ἔγωγε πράξεις ἡρωϊκὰς ἀναγράφειν καὶ τοιαῦτα ἄττα πέμπειν καί, ἵν' εἴπω, ἡλίκα καὶ οἷά μοι γράφειν ἐπῄει πρός τε ἄλλους καὶ περὶ ἄλλων καὶ μάλιστα πάντων τοῦ τῆς Κύπρου ῥηγός, ὁποίων καὶ ὅσων τὴν νῆσον ἐκεῖνος ἐνέπλησεν ἀγαθῶν κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ῥηγικῆς τε καὶ ἀρχικῆς ἐξουσίας· τά τε ἄλλα καὶ πολιτείαν εὐνομουμένην καὶ στάθμην δικαιοσύνης καὶ συχνὰς ἐλευθερίας αἰχμαλώτων καὶ δεσμίων ἀφέσεις καὶ χρεῶν λύσεις καὶ ἀδικουμένων προστασίας καὶ ὅσα μεγαλοπρέπειαν αὐθεντικὴν δημιουργεῖ καὶ ὅσα τὴν νῆσον πέπραχεν ἐνδοξοτέραν καὶ πρός γε ὅσα ἐπὶ τούτοις συνηθροικὼς ἔγωγε ταῖς ἐμαῖς τῆς ὅλης Ῥωμαϊκῆς Ἱστορίας ἐντέθεικα βίβλοις, ὑπόδειγμα κράτιστον τοῖς ἐν ἐξουσίαις εἰς μίμησιν προτιθεὶς τοῦ βελτίονος ἐφεξῆς.*

Un'ulteriore conferma, ancorché superflua, della paternità dell'encomio è fornita dallo stile. Ed invero, a parte le cospicue corrispondenze lessicali e fraseologiche, che è possibile rilevare fra la lingua dell'encomio e quella degli altri scritti di Gregora (siamo stati, in verità, molto parchi nel segnalarle in apparato), si notano nell'opuscolo tutti gli elementi dello stile immaginoso e quasi barocco del nostro autore (6).

2. Nel succitato brano della lettera Gregora dichiara di aver celebrato il monarca cipriota non solo nel discorso a lui indirizzato ma anche nella *Byzantina Historia*. Tale dichiarazione risponde a verità: infatti l'ampio e particolareggiato *Reisebericht*, che lo scrittore riporta nel l. XXV dell'opera storica – *Reisebericht* fatto a lui, prigioniero nel monastero di Chora, dall'amico Agatangelo (= Manuele Angelo) (7), reduce da un lungo viaggio all'estero (8),

(5) Cf. GREG., *ep.* 87 Leone = 122 Guilland.

(6) Cf. LEONE (= NICEFORO GREGORA, *Fiorenzo o intorno alla sapienza*, a cura di Pietro L. M. Leone, Napoli, 1975 [«Byzantina et Neo-Hellenica Neapolitana», IV]), p. 189 et *passim*.

(7) Sull'identificazione di Agatangelo con Manuele Angelo, destinatario di una lettera di Gregora (= *ep.* 155 Leone = 21 Guilland), cf. H.-V. BEYER, *Eine Chronologie des Lebensgeschichte des Nikephoros Gregoras*, in *Jahrbuch der österr. Byzantinistik*, 27 (1978), p. 144 ss.

(8) Sulle tappe di questo viaggio e la loro cronologia cf. BEYER, *art. cit.*, p. 142, n 112.

durante il quale aveva soggiornato anche a Cipro – contiene fra l'altro un elogio dell'isola e del suo sovrano (9).

Per avvie ragioni di cronologia (Agatangelo, che aveva intrapreso il suo viaggio il 1342.III.21, soggiornò a Cipro dal 1346-47 all'estate del 1349 e rientrò a C.poli nell'estate del 1351) (10), il monarca cipriota, di cui si tesse l'elogio nella *Byzantina Historia*, non può essere che Ugo IV di Lusignano, che regnò sull'isola dal 1324.IV.15 al 1359.X.10 (11).

Gli strettissimi legami, sottolineati anche nel luogo sopra citato della lettera, fra il discorso e l'elogio contenuto nella *Byzantina Historia* c'inducono ad affermare che anche il *logos* è indirizzato a quel monarca e che la sua composizione è anch'essa in diretto rapporto col *Reisebericht* di Agatangelo. D'altronde non è escluso che lo stesso opuscolo contenga qualche velata allusione a questo personaggio (ll. 2 ss. 115 ss.).

Rientrato a C.poli, come s'è detto, nell'estate del 1351, Agatangelo si recò a far visita a Gregora, allora prigioniero nel monastero di Chora, il 1351.XI.21 (12); appunto in quell'occasione egli raccontò all'amico dei suoi viaggi e soprattutto del suo non breve soggiorno cipriota, profondendo parole di ammirazione e di lode per l'isola e il suo re. La composizione dell'encomio è dunque posteriore al 1351.XI.21.

Quanto al *terminus ante quem*, è evidente che esso è costituito dalla data della lettera, in cui il discorso è espressamente menzionato, data che purtroppo non è possibile fissare con precisione (la lettera è comunque posteriore al 1354) (13). Tuttavia non par dubbio che Gregora abbia scritto l'encomio durante la sua prigionia nel monastero di Chora : dunque tra la fine del 1351 e la fine del 1354. Poiché dal brano sopra citato della lettera sembra risultare abbastanza chiaro che la redazione del *logos* è cronologica-

(9) Cf. GREG., *hist.*, XXV, 8 ss. = III, 27 ss. CB.

(10) Cf. VAN DIETEN (= NIKEPHOROS GREGORAS, *Rhomäische Geschichte – Historia Rhomaike* – übersetzt und erlautert von J.-L. van Dieten I, Stuttgart, 1973), p. 27 e n. 140 ; BEYER, *art. cit.*, p. 142, n. 112.

(11) Cf. G. HILL, *A History of Cyprus*, II, Cambridge, 1948, pp. 285, 304.

(12) Cf. BEYER, *art. cit.*, p. 141.

(13) Cf. VAN DIETEN, p. 45.

mente anteriore alla stesura dei capitoli della *Byzantina Historia* dedicati a Cipro, è ragionevole supporre che Gregora abbia composto l'opuscolo non molto dopo il suo incontro con Agatangelo, probabilmente alla fine del 1351 o all'inizio dell'anno seguente. L'esame della tradizione manoscritta dimostrerà che l'autore apportò in un momento successivo alcuni ritocchi al testo originario.

Dopo aver affermato che la rinomanza dell'isola supera di gran lunga quella delle località più famose del mondo antico, Gregora sottolinea nel suo discorso, in cui forse è possibile cogliere, tra la folta congerie dei luoghi comuni, qualche allusione alla realtà politico-amministrativa di Cipro (ll. 75 ss.), la perfetta armonia fra il paesaggio cipriota e il re che Dio ha voluto dare all'isola e che è il migliore dei suoi ministri ; esalta quindi le qualità morali del sovrano, insistendo soprattuto sulla giustizia (virtù riconosciuta ad Ugo IV anche da altri testimoni contemporanei) [14] e sulla clemenza nei riguardi dei prigionieri, e l'eccellenza della sua *πολιτεία* [15] ; accenna infine alle sue doti intellettuali.

E' opportuno osservare che i temi, che l'autore svolge più o meno diffusamente nell'encomio, si ritrovano fra quelli proposti dalla teoria del *λόγος βασιλικός* elaborata dagli antichi retori [16] e riformulata agl'inizi del sec. XIV, sulla scorta d'Aftonio, da Giuseppe il Filosofo [17] ; è la prova della fedeltà di Gregora alle regole della Scuola.

3. I codici che tramandano l'opuscolo sono i seguenti :

Q = *cod. Upsal. gr.* 28, saecc. XIV-XV, chart., miscell., ff. 457, diviso in due parti (1-225 + 226-457), indicate rispettivamente con le

(14) Cf. HILL, *op. cit.*, pp. 304-305.

(15) Parrebbe che nell'opuscolo Gregora esalti l'ideale di una monarchia illuminata ; cf. L.-P. RAYBAUD, *Le gouvernement et l'administration centrale de l'Empire byzantin sous les premiers Paléologues (1258-1354)*, Paris, 1968, pp. 19-20. Occorre tuttavia osservare che la celebrazione della *πολιτεία* del sovrano elogiato rientra fra i temi dell'encomio «regio», su cui vedi la nota che segue.

(16) Sull'encomio «regio», cf. GUILLAND, *Essai*, cit., p. 151 ss. ; W. KROLL, in *Real-Enzykl. der Altertumsw.*, Suppl. Bd. VII, Stuttgart, 1940, col. 1132 ; H. MARROU, *Storia dell'educazione nell'Antichità*, trad. it., Roma, 1971, p. 270 s. ; J. VERPEAUX, *Nicéphore Choumnos homme d'État et humaniste byzantin (ca. 1250/1255-1327)*, Paris, 1959, p. 84 ss.

(17) Cf. GUILLAND, *Essai*, cit., pp. 151-152 ; VERPEAUX, *op cit.*, p. 86.

lettere A e B [18]. Trasmette alcuni scritti di Gregora, fra cui *l'Encomio del re di Cipro*, contenuto nei ff. 395-396 [19].

G = *cod. Angel. gr.* 82, saec. XVI in., chart., mm. 320 × 210, ff. 227 [20]. Dalla nota che si legge nel marg. sup. del f. 1 risulta che il manoscritto appartenne ad Arsenio, metropolita di Monemvasia, alla cui morte, avvenuta nel 1535 [21] – di codice è dunque anteriore a questa data – passò in eredità al nipote e discepolo Giorgio di Corinto. Il quale, nel 1540, in séguito alla cessione di Monemvasia ai Turchi, si trasferì coi suoi libri a Venezia [22]. Se si eccettua un *decastichon iambicum*, che appartiene, a quel che sembra, a Gregorio Acindino [23], e una lettera inviata da Andronico Zarida a

(18) Cf. Ch. GRAUX-A. MARTIN, *Notices sommaires des manuscrits grecs en Suède*, in *Archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires*, IIIe s., t. XV (1889), pp. 341-343. Ved. anche R. FÖRSTER, *De Libanii libris manuscriptis Upsaliensibus et Lincopiensibus commentatio*, Rostochii, 1877, pp. 7, 26 ; S. LINDSTAM, *Georgii Lacapeni epistulae X priores cum epimerismis editae*, Upsaliae, 1910, pp. LIV-LV ; GUILLAND, *Essai*, cit., p. XXVII ; A. GARZYA, *Inventario dei manoscritti delle epistole di Sinesio*, in *Atti Acc. Pontaniana*, XII (1973) (= *Storia e interpretazione dei testi bizantini*, London, 1974, XXI), p. 277 ; LEONE, p. 38 ; ID., *Per l'edizione critica dell'epistolario di Niceforo Gregora*, in *Byzantion*, XLVI (1976), p. 37 ; J.-L. VAN DIETEN, *Entstehung und Überlieferung der Historia Rhomaike des Nikephoros Gregoras. Insbesondere des ersten Teiles : Lib. I-IX*. Inaugural-Dissertation, Köln, 1975, p. 123 s.

(19) L'*Encomio* precede nel manoscritto due lettere di Gregora (= epp. 108, 119 Leone = 36, 17 Guilland).

(20) Cf. P. FRANCHI DE' CAVALIERI-G. MUCCIO, *Index codicum Graecorum Bibliothecae Angelicae*, in *Studi Ital. di Fil. Class.*, IV (1896), p. 130 (= Ch. SAMBERGER, *Catalogi codicum Graecorum qui in minoribus bibliothecis Italicis asservantur*, II, Lipsiae, 1968, p. 144). Ved. anche GUILLAND, *Essai*, cit., pp. XXV-XXVI ; ST. BINON, *Documents grecs inédits relatifs à S. Mercure de Césarée*, Louvain, 1937, pp. 54-55 ; LEONE, *Per l'edizione critica*, cit., pp. 33-34 ; VAN DIETEN, *Entstehung*, cit., pp. 118-119.

(21) Su Arsenio, arcivescovo di Monemvasia (1465-1535), figlio di Michele Apostolio, cf. K. KRUMBACHER, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*, München, 1897[2] («Handbuch d. Altertumsw.», IX), p. 603 ; M. VOGEL-V. GARTHAUSEN, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, Leipzig, 1909, pp. 42-43.

(22) Cf. E. LEGRAND, *Bibliothèque hellénique des XVe et XVIe siècles*, I, Paris, 1885, p. CLXXII, n. 2, 252.

(23) Il *decastichon iambicum*, pubblicato da S. G. Mercati (*Sulle poesie di Niceforo Gregora*, in *Bessarione*, XXII [1918], p. 98 [*Collectanea Byzantina*, I, Roma, 1970, p. 151]) sulla base del cod. *Vat. gr 1086*, reca in questo manoscritto

Gregora (= *ep.* I Guilland = *ep. ad Greg.* 2 Leone), il codice trasmette solo ed esclusivamente scritti del nostro, fra cui appunto l'*Encomio del re di Cipro*, contenuto nei ff. 194^{v}-195^{v} (antica numerazione 193^{v}-194^{v}). Il manoscritto presenta parecchie correzioni marginali e interlineari (nessuna delle quali tuttavia riguarda il nostro opuscolo), dovute a una seconda mano, la stessa che corresse il *cod. Monac. gr.* 10 (= K), apografo diretto di G (24).

H = *cod. Paris. gr.* 3040 (olim *Reg.* 2079, 2), saec. XVIII in (c. 1708), chart., mm. 309 × 250, ff. III + 143 + IV (25). E' copia diretta di G, di cui riproduce anche la numerazione dei *folia* ; lo scriba ha tuttavia omesso alcuni testi presenti nell'esemplare (fra gli altri quelli che leggiamo nella *Byzantina Historia*) (26), lasciando degli spazi vuoti per indicar l'omissione. L'*Encomio del re di Cipro* è contenuto nei ff. 111-112 (27). Il codice è naturalmente da eliminare.

K = *cod. Monac. gr.* 10, saec. XVI, chart., mm. 355 × 320, ff. 496 (= pp. 1-519 + ff. 520-755) (28). Consta di tre sezioni : a) pp. 1-519 ; b) ff. 520-692^{v} ; c) ff. 693-736 + 737-755. Le prime due furono copiate da Emanuele Eubene di Monemvasia (29), come appren-

l'*inscriptio* στίχοι τοῦ ἀ ..... ν ... Il nome dell'autore (certamente ἀκινδύνου) è stato raschiato : «forse *in odium auctoris*», dice il Mercati (*Sulle poesie*, cit., p. 91 = *Collectanea*, cit., p. 145). Nel cod. *Angel gr.* 82 il *decastichon* è adespoto ; è lecito perciò supporre che il nome Ἀκινδύνου sia stato eliminato sia nel cod. *Vat. gr.* 1086 che nell'antenato di G dallo stesso Gregora, per una ragione che ignoriamo.

(24) Cf. BINON, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

(25) Cf. H. OMONT, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, III, Paris, 1888, p. 97. Ved. anche GUILLAND, *Essai*, cit., pp. XVII-XVIII ; LEONE, *Per l'edizione critica*, cit., pp. 34-35 ; VAN DIETEN, *Entstehung*, cit., pp. 129-130.

(26) Cf. GUILLAND, *Essai*, cit., pp. XVII-XVIII ; VAN DIETEN, *Entstehung*, cit., p. 129.

(27) L'indicazione (ff. 11-12) che si legge in GUILLAND (*Essai*, cit., p. 151, n. 4) è errata (si tratta evidentemente di un refuso).

(28) Cf. I. HARDT, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Graecorum Bibliothecae Bavaricae*, I, Munchen, 1806, pp. 48-85 ; C. VAN DE VORST-H. DELEHAYE, *Catalogus codicum hagiographorum Graecorum Germaniae Belgii Angliae*, Bruxellis, 1913 («Subsidia hagiographica», XIII), p. 94. Ved. anche GUILLAND, *Essai*, cit., p. XXVI ; BINON, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-56 ; LEONE, *Per l'edizione critica*, cit., pp. 35-36 ; VAN DIETEN, *Entstehung*, cit., pp. 128-129.

(29) Su Emanuele Eubene, che fu anche *scriptor* della Biblioteca Vaticana, cf. VOGEL-GARTHAUSEN, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

diamo dalla nota autografa apposta in calce al f. 692^{v}. La sezione a contiene gli stessi scritti di Gregora tramandati dal cod. G, da cui direttamente discende : l'*Encomio del re di Cipro* è contenuto nelle pp. 443-447. Secondo il Binon ([30]), il codice fu copiato a Monemvasia, forse per ordine di Giorgio di Corinto,che, come s'è detto sopra, aveva ereditato dallo zio e maestro, il metropolita Arsenio, fra gli altri manoscritti, il cod. G. Se così è, la trascrizione di K fu eseguita prima del 1540, giacché in quell'anno Giorgio si rifugiò coi suoi libri a Venezia. Lo stesso Binon ([31]) tuttavia non esclude che il manoscritto posse essere stato copiato a Venezia dopo il 1540. Le opere di Gregora presentano nel testo, nell'interlinea e in margine molte correzioni, apportate da une seconda mano, la stessa, dicemmo sopra, che corresse qua e là il cod. G. Una nota apposta dalla stessa mano correttrice in calce alla p. 519 avverte che il codice fu collazionato col suo *πρωτότυπον (ἐξισώθη καὶ τοῦτο κατὰ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ πρωτότυπον)*.

Che il *πρωτότυπον* al quale allude l'ignoto collazionatore (probabilmente un copista al servizio di Giorgio di Corinto) sia G, è fuor di dubbio ; il Binon ([32]) pensava invece a un codice diverso, d'incerta identificazione, dal quale, secondo il dotto, sarebbero state desunte per collazione non solo le correzioni di K ma anche quelle, assai meno numerose, di G : un'opinione, codesta, assolutamente insostenibile, di cui abbiamo fatto abbondante giustizia nell'*Introduzione* all'edizione delle lettere di Gregora.

Per quanto concerne le correzioni esibite da K, abbiamo colà dimostrato che alcune sono correzioni ricavate per collazione da G, altre (che ritroviamo in parte anche in G) pure e semplici congetture ([33]), per lo più ovvie e talvolta persino errate o arbitrarie. Alcune di queste emendazioni congetturali, che furono evidentemente apportate nel corso della collazione, il copista riportò anche sull'esemplare G, che aveva sotto gli occhi : K^2 e G^2 sono infatti la stessa persona.

(30) Cf. BINON, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-56.
(31) Cf. BINON, *op. cit.*, p. 64.
(32) Cf. BINON, *op. cit.*, p. 61.
(33) In molti casi l'emendazione congetturale è preceduta da *ἴσως*.

Data la natura delle correzioni che K presenta, non è dubbio che anche questo manoscritto, che è, ripetiamo, diretto apografo di G, sia da eliminare.

Delle emendazioni congetturali apportate dall'ignoto collazionatore una sola riguarda il nostro opusculo (25 *ἀφίλετο* GHK^1 : *ἀφίκετο* QK^2) ; non è però da escludere che la correzione del λ in κ sia dovuta a Emanuele Eubene, che nel corso della trascrizione eliminò parecchie sviste del suo modello, pur incorrendo egli stesso in omissioni ed errori.

I codici utili alla costituzione del testo sono dunque Q e G.

Prescindendo da alcuni manifesti errori esibiti da G (22 *αὐσῶν* om. G ; 24 *ἀντλαντίδων* G ; 25 *ἀφίλετο* G ; 28 *οὐδ' ἤν* G ; 29 *θαυμαστοί* G ; 39 *ἠρμένην* G ; 51 *σώματι* G ; 53 *τοσοῦτον* G ; 75-123 *τὴν εὐκοσμίαν ~ βλέπομεν*) (34), notiamo fra i due manoscritti le seguenti cospicue divergenze :

2 *καὶ τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ* G : om. Q
16 *τοῖς ... ἐπιπλέον τοῖς σοῖς* Q : *τοῖς σοῖς ... ἐπιπλέον* G
49 *ὡς ἀληθῶς* Q : om. G
61 *προϋπάρχοντα* Q : *ὑπάρχοντα* G
70-72 *καὶ ~ ἐποπτεύοντος* G : om. Q
72 *λόγῳ* Q : *λόγοις* G.

E' innegabile, considerata la qualità delle varianti, che tali divergenze risalgano all'autore : Q e G trasmettono due diverse recensioni dell'*Encomio*, e non è dubbio che quella tramandata da G sia posteriore all'altra.

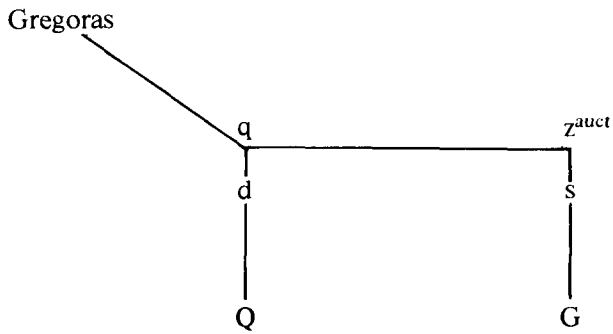
Come abbiamo dimostrato nell'*Introduzione* all'edizione delle lettere e come risulta anche dall'indagine condotta dal van Dieten (35) su alcuni opuscoli del nostro, la maggior parte degli scritti confluiti nell'ampia raccolta (da noi siglata z^{auct}), che Gregora mise insieme negli ultimi anni della sua vita, e donde derivò, attraverso una copia intermedia, G, era stata da lui sottoposta a revisione : l'autore ne aveva qua e là variamente ritoccato il testo (non solo per ragioni di stile) e in qualche caso l'aveva addirittura profondamente rimaneg-

(34) Per quanto concerne l'omissione in G delle ll. 75-123, essa dipende probabilmente dalla caduta di un foglio dall'immediato esemplare di G (non certo da G). La decurtazione potrebbe però risalire anche a z^{auct}.

(35) Cf. VAN DIETEN, *Entstehung*, cit., *passim*.

giato (egli tuttavia non rilevò, e quindi non corresse, durante la revisione, che non fu evidentemente né sistematica né integrale, alcuni errori che s'erano già insinuati nel testo per colpa dei copisti). A quest'opera di revisione non sfuggì, com'è evidente, l'*Encomio del re di Cipro*.

In base ai risultati dell'indagine sulla tradizione manoscritta dell'opuscolo è possibile tracciare il seguente *stemma codicum* :



I criteri seguiti nell'edizione dell'Encomio sono sostanzialmente gli stessi che abbiamo adottato nell'edizione delle lettere. Il testo è presentato in modo da lasciar individuare le due diverse fasi di redazione dell'opuscolo. Alla lezione primitiva è sovrapposta quella più recente e con speciali segni diacritici, di cui si dà ragione nel *Conspectus siglorum*, sono indicate le altre modificazioni (soppressioni e aggiunte) apportate da Gregora alla redazione originaria.

Pietro Luigi M. Leone.

NICEPHORI GREGORAE ORATIO IN REGEM CYPRI (HUGONEM IV DE LUSIGNAN)

Conspectus siglorum

Q = *Upsal. gr.* 28, saec. XIV-XV
G = *Angel. gr.* 82, saec. XVI

{*ααα*} = exhibet rec. I, omittit autem rec. II, scil. cum ab auctore deleta sint.
[*ααα*] = ab auctore addita in rec. II.

G* = codicis G lectio corrupta, quae in *Monac. gr.* 10 (= K), codicis G apographo, ab ignoto lectore correcta est.

Νικηφόρου τοῦ Γρηγορᾶ
Εἰς τὸν ῥῆγα τῆς Κύπρου

1. *Ὑψηλότατε, ἐνδοξότατε, εὐγενέστατε, λαμπρότατε, μέγα ῥὴξ τῆς Κύπρου [καὶ τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ]. Οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν εἰς τὴν μεγαλόπολιν ταυτηνὶ καταιρόντων, ἐπειδὰν πολλὰς ἀμείψαντες χώρας καὶ πόλεις καὶ νήσους καὶ ἠπείρους διηγεῖσθαι τὰς ἑαυτῶν περιόδους ἐθέλωσιν οἷς ἂν ἐντυγχάνωσι 'νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν', καὶ μάλισθ' ὁπόσοι γλῶτταν ἔχουσιν ἀρκοῦσαν ἐκ φύσεως ἐξαγγέλλειν τὰ τῆς διανοίας ἀπόρρητα, βελτίους ἑαυτῶν γίνονται μᾶλλον, ὅταν εἰς τοὺς σοὺς ἐπαίνους ἑαυτοὺς ἀπολύσωσι καὶ τὰς ἡνίας τῆς γλώττης ἐνδῶσι · κἄπειτα ἐρωτώμενοι πρὸς τῶν ἀκουόντων, πῶς φύσει φιλοθεάμονες ὑπάρχοντες καὶ πολλοὺς*

2-3 *τὴν μεγαλόπολιν ταυτηνὶ]* Constantinopolis
5 PLAT., *leg.*, I, 633c cf. GREG., *Flor.*, 57, Leone

2 *καὶ τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ* G : om. Q

διεληλυθότες τόπους καὶ πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων ἄστεα καὶ νόον ἐγνωκότες, τὴν τῆς Κύπρου μᾶλλον ὑμνοῦσι πολιτείαν καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην τὴν σὴν καὶ ὅσα πλουτεῖς ἀγαθά, ἐκεῖνο δὴ τὸ τῆς Ἀριστοτελικῆς σοφίας ἀπόφθεγμα μιμησάμενος ἀποκρίνονται· ὡς γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἐρωτηθεὶς 'διὰ τί τοῖς καλοῖς μακρότερον ὁμιλοῦμεν, τυφλοῦ τὸ ἐρώτημα' εἶναι ἀπεκρίνατο, οὕτω καὶ οὗτοι παρ' ὁτωνδήποτε ἐρωτώμενοι διὰ τί τοῖς σοῖς ἐγκωμίοις ἐπιπλέον ἐνδιατρίβουσι καὶ γλυκύτητος γέμον ἡγοῦνται ἐντρύφημα τὰ σὰ διηγήματα, κωφοῦ φασιν εἶναι τὸ ἐρώτημα. τῶν γὰρ τοιούτων, ὡς εἴρηται, πολλάκις διηγουμένων τὰ κράτιστα τῶν σῶν ἀγαθῶν, καὶ πάντων ἀκουόντων καὶ θαυμαζόντων, ὅστις ἀνήκοος ἔμεινε, φασί, κωφὸς ἂν εἴη πάντως ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς γενέσεως καὶ τῆς βελτίονος λειπόμενος τῶν αἰσθήσεων. πολλῶν γὰρ πελαγῶν καὶ θαλασσῶν οὐσῶν, ὁπόσαι νήσους ἔχουσι μεγίστας τε καὶ ἐλαχίστας, καὶ ὁπόσαι μέσην ἔσχον θέσιν, οὔτ' ἐκ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς, οὔτ' ἐκ τῆς ἔξω τῶν Ἀτλαντίδων, οὔτ' ἐκ τῆς ἐντὸς καὶ ὅσην Ἡράκλειοι στῆλαι ὁρίζουσι, φήμη τις ἡμῖν ἀφίκετο κλέος ἐπιφερομένη τοιοῦτον, ἡλίκον καὶ οἷον ἡ Κύπρος ἡ σή· οὔθ' ἡ Χρυσῆ λεγομένη Χερρόνησος, οὔθ' ἡ τῶν ἀρκτικῶν τῆς οἰκουμένης προκαθημένη μερῶν Θούλη, οὔτε τῶν Βρετανικῶν οὐδεμία· ναὶ μὴν οὐδ' ἡ τῶν ὅσοι πρὸς μεσημβρίαν καὶ νοτον ἄνεμον οἰκοῦσιν Ἰνδοὶ καὶ Αἰθίοπες, θαυμαστὴ τὸ μέγεθος Ταπροβάνη· ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἡ πλησίον καὶ γείτων τοῖς τῶν Ὑρκανῶν ἔθνεσι Κασπία· οὐδ' ὅση ἐκ Γαδείρων τε καὶ Ἡρακλείων ἀρχομένη στηλῶν ἄνεισι μὲν ἄχρι καὶ ἐς τοὺς ὑπερβορείους ἔγγιστα Σκύθας, περατοῦται δ' ἐς Κύπρον τὴν σήν – ἢ μᾶλλον ἄρχεται μὲν ἐκ Κύπρου, περατοῦται δ' ἐς τὰς Ἡρακλείους στήλας· οὕτω γὰρ δικαιότερόν τε καὶ εὐπρεπέστερον λέγειν – δυοῖν γὰρ ὄντων ἄκρων τῆς ἡμέρου ταύτης καὶ ἡμετέρας θαλάττης, καὶ τοῦ μὲν τῆς περιβοήτου καὶ

10-11 Hom., *Od.*, I, 3 (versus a Gregora saepissime laudatus)
14-15 Diog. Laert., V, 20 = I, 204, 27-205, 1 Long, Stob., IV, 21, 14

14 διατί Q
16 τοῖς ... ἐπιπλέον τοῖς σοῖς Q : τοῖς σοῖς .. ἐπιπλέον G
22 οὐσῶν om. G
24 ἀντλαντίδων G
25 ἀφίλετο G
28 οὐδ' ἡ scripsi : οὐδ' ἣν G οὐδὲ Q
29 θαυμαστοὶ G

θαυμασίας προκαθημένης Κύπρου, τοῦ δ'ὑφ' Ἡρακλείων ὁριζομένου στηλῶν, νικᾶν ἔγωγε τίθεμαι τὰ πρεσβεῖα τὴν περὶ Κύπρον ἔχειν θάλασσαν, καὶ αὐτόθεν μᾶλλον ἠργμένην τὴν ὅλην ταύτην λέγειν ὑγρὰν οὐσίαν, ἄχρι καὶ ἐς τὰς Ἡρακλείους κατιέναι καὶ περατοῦσθαι στήλας ἢ τοὐναντίον. καὶ τοῦτ'εἶναι τοῖς ἄκροις ἀμφοῖν ἔκ γε τοῦ νῦν ἐφεξῆς κανόνα καὶ νόμον ἔγωγε λέγω · τίθεσθαι δηλαδὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς καθ'ἡμᾶς ταύτης θαλάττης ἐκ Κύπρου καὶ μὴ ἐξ Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν · καὶ γὰρ τὴν τὰ πάντα βόσκουσαν ἡλίου φλόγα, τὴν παγκόσμιόν φημι τῆς ἡμέρας λαμπάδα, ἐκεῖθεν ἀρχομένην ὁρῶσιν ἐξ αἰῶνος ἅπαντες ἄνθρωποι. ὅθεν ἡ Κύπρος πεφύτευται πρὸς θεοῦ κἀκ τῶν μερῶν ἐκείνων ἡμῖν καὶ τὸ τῆς τοῦ νοητοῦ ἡλίου καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν θεοῦ συγκαταβάσεως ὤφθη φῶς, καὶ τὸ τῆς παγκοσμίου χαρᾶς μυστήριον, ὡς εἶναι παρὰ τοσοῦτον {ὡς ἀληθῶς} τὰ παρὰ τὰς Ἡρακλείους στήλας μέρη σκοτεινὰ καὶ ἀλαμπῆ καὶ ἄγρια, παρόσον τὰ παρὰ τὴν Κύπρον ἥμερα καὶ προσηνῆ καὶ λάμποντα καὶ τέρποντα μὴ μόνον σώματα, ὅτι μὴ καὶ ψυχὰς αὐτὰς ὅσαι νοερῶς ὁρῶσι, δι' ἡμᾶς σαρκωθέντα θεὸν λόγον καὶ παθόντα καὶ ἀναστάντα, καὶ συνελόντι φάναι, τοσοῦτο βελτίων τῶν δυτικῶν τὰ ἕωθέν τε καὶ ἐκ Κύπρου, ὅσον ἀλήθεια ψεύδους · εἰ γὰρ τὰ μυθώδη πάντα ψεύδους ἀπόζοντα γέλωτα ὀφλισκάνει, ἦ που τὰ Ἡρακλέους ἅπαντα μύθοις καὶ πλάσμασιν ἐρειδόμενα, γέλωτά τε ὀφλισκάνει μακρὸν καὶ χλεύην ἄπασαν ἐπισύρεται · ὥστε ποῦ τῶν εἰκότων τὰ ψευδῆ τῶν ἀληθῶν ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ ἃ γέλωτος πέφυκεν ἄξια τῶν ὑμνουμένων καὶ μακαριζομένων ἄρχειν ; οὕτω πανταχόθεν εἰκότως ἡ σὴ τὸ δίκαιον ἔχει Κύπρος τὰ πρωτεῖα κομίζεσθαι.

2. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἀμέσως ἐκ θεοῦ τἀγαθὰ Κύπρῳ τῇ νήσῳ ὑπάρχοντα φαίνεται · ἃ δ'ἐκ θεοῦ διὰ σοῦ καὶ διὰ σὲ κράτιστον προϋπάρχοντα ὑπηρέτην εὑρημένον θεῷ προσγέγονέ τε καὶ ἐπεγένετο, τίς ἂν ἀξίως τῆς φήμης εἰπεῖν δυνηθείη ; τίς δ' οὐκ ἀξίως εἰπὼν οὐκ ἂν αἰσχυνθείη, τὸν αὐτίκα ἔλεγχον ἔχων πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἀνθιστάμενον ; ἀδικίας μὲν γὰρ

55-56 *χλεύην ... ἐπισύρεται* · cf. GREG. *Flor.* 696 Leone

38 *ἠρμένην* G
47 *ὡς ἀληθῶς* G. om Q
50 *σώματι* G
52 *συνελόντι* scripsi (ita alibi Gregoras). *συνελόντα* codd Norrmann | *φᾶναι* codd | *τοσοῦτον* G
61 *προϋπάρχοντα* Q · *ὑπάρχοντα* G

ἀπάσης κρηπῖδας τῆς νήσου ἐξώρισας, πανταχόθεν αὐτῆς ἀνελὼν καὶ ἀφανισμῷ παντελεῖ παραδούς, δικαιοσύνην δ' ἀντεισήνεγκάς τε καὶ εἰσῳκίσω καὶ ᾠκειώσω, ἅτε τὰ πρῶτα φέρουσαν τῶν καλῶν καὶ ῥίζαν καὶ θεμέλιον εὐταξίας οὖσαν, ὅση τὰς πολιτείας κοσμεῖ καὶ ἁρμονίαν τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις ἐντίθησι πράγμασι πᾶσιν [καὶ τὸ πολέμιον ἅπαν ἐξοστρακίζει τῆς νήσου νῦν μὲν πρὸ τῶν ὅπλων, νῦν δὲ σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις, συναιρομένου θεοῦ τοῦ τὴν δικαιοσύνην διδάσκοντός τε καὶ ἐποπτεύοντος] οὐ λόγοις μόνον τῆς ἀρετῆς κοσμῶν τὸ σεμνόν, τὰς τῆς δικαιοσύνης δηλαδὴ πλάστιγγας καὶ τῶν τοιούτων κανόνων τὸ ἀρρεπής, ἀλλὰ καὶ πράξεσι καταλλήλαις βεβαιῶν τὴν εὐκοσμίαν τῶν λόγων, δικαστὰς μὲν ἐπιστήσας κατ' ἐκλογὴν τοὺς ἀρίστους, φύλακας καὶ προστάτας τῆς ἰσηγορίας τε καὶ ἰσονομίας, ὡς μὴ λάθῃ διαρρυὲν τὸ συμφέρον · ἀγορανόμοι τε καὶ ὀψονόμοι καὶ δικασπόλοι διηνεκῶς περιίασι τὰς ἀγορὰς καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν νῆσον, ἔφοροι τῶν ὠνίων καὶ πράσεων καὶ φρουροὶ τῆς δίκης ἀκάματοι · ταξιάρχας τε καὶ τῆς εὐνομίας διοικητὰς μὴ μόνων τῶν δημοσίων πράξεων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς δήμοις ἠθῶν καὶ λόγων καὶ τρόπων, ὡς ἂν μαραίνηται μὲν καὶ ἀπῇ τὰ κακά, ὅσα τὴν τοῦ ψεύδους ἔχει προπέτειαν καὶ ἐπιορκίαν, θάλλῃ δὲ καὶ ἀνθῇ τὰ καλά · σεμνότης ἠθῶν καὶ λόγων εὐστάθεια καὶ γλώττης εὐσχήμων ἀλήθεια περὶ πᾶσαν τὴν νῆσον, καθάπερ ἄνθη κατ' ἀγροὺς καὶ ζέφυρος ἐν θέρει, τέρποντα καὶ νοῦν καὶ λόγον καὶ αἴσθησιν περιφανῶς. οἶμαι δὲ καὶ Πλάτων εἰ περιῆν, ἐμιμήσατό σε ἂν καὶ ἠγάπησε τὴν σὴν ταυτηνὶ πολιτείαν μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν αὐτῷ νομοθετηθεῖσαν πάλαι καὶ τοῦ συνεχῶς εἰς Σικελίαν ἀφέμενος πλεῖν, ἔπλει ἂν μᾶλλον εἰς Κύπρον ἕνεκα σοῦ καὶ τῆς σῆς πολιτείας τε καὶ νομοθεσίας.

3. Τῶν δὴ τοιούτων τῆς νήσου ταύτης ἀρετῶν αἴτιος μὲν σύ, αἴτιος δ' ἡ σὴ δικαιοσύνη βάσις γενομένη καὶ κρηπὶς καὶ θεμέλιος ἀκλόνητος τῆς καλῆς οἰκοδομίας σὺν ἁρμονίᾳ καὶ στάθμῃ κρατίστῃ. τοῖς γὰρ τοιούτοις χρηστοῖς συνοικοδομεῖται καὶ ἐποικοδομεῖται καὶ τὸ κράτιστον τῆς ἀγάπης καὶ διὰ πάσης ἔρχεται τῆς ἐργασίας, καθάπερ χρῶμα χρυσοῦν

78 ἀγορανόμοι ... περιίασι τὰς ἀγορὰς : cf. GREG., *Flor.*, 151-152 Leone
88 τοῦ συνεχῶς εἰς Σικελίαν ... πλεῖν : cf. e.g. DIOG. LAËRT., III, 18 = I, 129, 2-3 Long

68-70 καί ~ ἐποπτεύοντος G . om. Q
70 λόγῳ Q . λόγοις G
73-120 τὴν εὐκοσμίαν ~ βλέπομεν om. G

ἐπανορθοῦν καὶ νέμον εὐφροσύνην ψυχῇ τε καὶ σώματι ἢ μᾶλλον καθάπερ τις δεσμὸς περισφίγγων καὶ συναρμολογῶν τὴν ὅλην τῶν εἰρημένων συνθήκην καλῶν. ἄνευ γὰρ ἀγάπης οὐδὲν τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀγαθόν· αὕτη γάρ σοι καὶ τῆς φιλοξενίας γέγονεν αἰτία σαφὴς καὶ πάντων μέν, μάλιστα δ' ἁπάντων τῆς τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἐλευθερίας· ὁπόσοι πλανῶνται μὲν περιφερόμενοι καὶ περιαγόμενοι πανταχοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης καὶ τῶν τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας πειρῶνται δεινῶν· ἐπὰν δ' ἐς τὴν σὴν ἀφίκωνται Κύπρον, ἀφικνοῦνται δ' ὅσοις ἂν εὐμενέστερον ὀφθαλμὸν ἐπιβάλῃ θεός, εὐθὺς καὶ μεταβολὴν ὁρῶσι βίου καὶ δυστυχίας ἀπαλλαγήν, καθάπερ λέπρας κάθαρσιν θαυματουργοῦντος Χριστοῦ, ὡς γίνεσθαι παράδοξον τρόπον τὴν ἀπορίαν εὐπορίας μητέρα καὶ τῆν δυστυχίαν εὐδαιμονίας πηγήν. ὅσα γὰρ αἰχμαλωσίαις ἕπεται δεινά, καὶ οἷς ἐπαρῶνται πάντες καὶ ἀπεύχονται μὴ τυχεῖν, πάντα ταῦτα εἰς εὐχῆς μετενήνεκται λῆξιν αὐτοῖς, ὁπόσοι τῆς σῆς πεπείρανται νήσου καὶ τοῖς σοῖς προσέσχον τὴν γνώμην χρηστοῖς. οὐ γὰρ ἔστι λέγειν ὡς ὁ τῆς τύχης ἔρριψε κύβος αὐτόθι σφᾶς οὐδ' ὅτι ἄδηλα φύων χρόνος ἔδειξε τοῦτο τοῖς ταλαιπώροις καινόν· ἀλλ' ἡ καλῶς τε καὶ εὐμενῶς ἄνωθεν αὐτοῖς διατεθεῖσα θεία πρόνοια καλῶς καὶ τούτους εἰς τὴν σὴν ἐπικράτειαν ἤνεγκεν, ὡς καταστῆναι τὸ πάνυ τοι χαλεπὸν τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας δεινὸν εὐθυμίας ἀρχὴν καὶ πρᾶγμα ῥᾷστα πεῖθον μὴ παντάπασιν ἐπαρᾶσθαι, ἀλλά πως καὶ εὐχαριστεῖν τοῖς τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν ἐπαγαγοῦσι τὴν πρώτην κατ' αὐτῶν. οὕτω πάντας ταῖς ἀγαθαῖς σου κατέπληξας φήμαις καὶ πρὸς τοὺς σοὺς ἔρωτας ἄγεις ῥᾳδίως καὶ πόρρωθεν, ὅσοι τῶν φιλοκάλων καὶ φιλαρέτων εἰσὶ καὶ ὅσοι τῶν λογίων καὶ σοφῶν, ἀκούοντας πρὸς τῶν αὐτόθεν ἀεὶ καταιρόντων ἐνθάδε καὶ διηγουμένων ταῦτά τε καὶ πλείω τούτων, καὶ μάλιστα πάντων, ὅτι κἀκ τῆς θέας αὐτῆς σέ φασι καὶ τῆς τῶν ὄψεων χάριτος ἥκειν εὐθὺς ὥσπερ ἐγγογητεύοντα ταῖς τῶν ὁρώντων ψυχαῖς χαράν τιν' ἀπόρρητον καὶ ὅπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ἡλιακῶν τῶνδε ἀκτίνων τῆς οὐρανίας λαμπάδος γιγνόμενον βλέπομεν.

107-108 SOPH., *Ai.*, 646-647

94 *περισφίγγων* Norrmann : *περισφύγγων* Q

LITERARY ECHOES IN PSELLUS' CHRONOGRAPHIA

Considering how the Byzantine historians often wanted to display their learning by adorning their texts with allusions to the classical authors, and to Christian literature, we may expect that Psellus, with his vast erudition, his keen sense for stylistic elegance, and his extraordinary vanity, should have richly sprinkled his Chronographia with this kind of quotations and references. Various commentators have also shown this to be the case. In the following a few more examples will be given, which for one reason or another seem particularly interesting.

II, 74-75, chs. 6-7, Psellus writes with bitter – and biased – irony of the empress Theodora's choice of Leo Paraspondylus as her closest adviser. Psellus describes his rival as sorely lacking all the graces that normally characterize a politician : he did not know how to speak attractively, he was neither charming nor affable but always showed everyone the rough side of his nature. Under the previous régime anyone who had serious business to put before the emperor would be careful not to mention it at once, but to start with some playful remarks (I, 134, 33 end). Leo had no time for such pleasantries : he lost his temper if someone failed to go straight to the point of his subject.

This description of Leo Paraspondylus leads over, in ch. 8, to some general reflections. Psellus distinguishes between three kinds of souls. Those who are completely detached from their bodies may cultivate total impassibility (*τὸ ἀπαθές*). Those who accept to live with their bodies sometimes go to the opposite extreme and fall prey to sensual pleasures (*τὸ ἀπολαυστικὸν καὶ φιλήδονον*). There is, however, a middle way between these two extremes and that is the

Psellus is quoted (volume, page, chapter and line) from E. Renauld's edition of the *Chronographia*, I-II, Paris, 1926, 1928.

'Sewter' = E. R. A. Sewter, Fourteen Byzantine Rulers. The *Chronographia* of Michael Psellus, revised edition, 1966.

attitude which is appropriate for the politicians. If the soul adopts a life which is at equal distance from the impassible life and the life devoted to passions and puts itself in the exact center of a circle, then it creates the statesman (*τὸν πολιτικὸν ἀπεργάζεται ἄνθρωπον*).

Renauld finds this whole chapter difficult to understand and particularly the end of it 'd'une parfaite obscurité'. However, the gist of it, if interpreted as above, seems pretty clear (1). As to the last part of the chapter Renauld unnecessarily complicates the explanation of it by giving *λόξωσις*, 76^{23}, the same meaning as in the totally different context 77, 10^{11} : 'the obliquity of the ecliptic'. Psellus, he says, 'évoque des croyances astrologiques que le contexte n'éclaircit pas'. But Psellus sometimes uses the same word with different meanings even in the same sentence, and very often within quite a brief space of text. In ch. 8, *λόξωσις* simply = *σκολιότης*, 'deviation', the opposite of the two immediately preceding, synonymous (and chiastic) expressions : *τὴν τοῦ κανόνος εὐθύτητα* and *τὴν ἰσότητα τῆς στάθμης*. The last four words mean 'the straightness of a ruler', whereas earlier, 75, 7^{10}, *τὴν στάθμην τῆς τοιαύτης γνώμης θαυμάζω* = 'I admire the inflexibility, the firmness of such a mind'. In the last line we should read *ἀπωσάτω* in line with the foregoing imperatives (2). The sense is : 'If he censures all deviation from the straight line, he should also reject those who follow the crooked path'.

Who inspired Psellus with this doctrine of the three different kinds of lives ? Probably Pythagoras, who apparently was the first to distinguish between the theoretic, the practical, and the apolaustic lives. According to him there are three kinds of men, just as there are three sorts of people who go to the Olympic Games : the lowest class – the traders, next above them – the competitors, the best of all – the spectators (*θεωρητικοί*). All this was described by Iamblichos in his Life of Pythagoras, 58, and since Psellus' familiarity with Iamblichus' writings is well known (see for instance *Chronologia*, I, 136, 38^{2}), it seems reasonable to assume that he learned of the theory of the three lives from Pythagoras, via Iamblichus.

Psellus may of course also have been inspired by the way Aristotle made use of Pythagoras' idea in the *Ethics*, I, 5, 2, where he distinguishes between the life of enjoyment (*ὁ ἀπολαυστικός*), the

(1) Thus H. Grégoire, *Byzantion*, 4, 1927-28, 720.
(2) See J. Sykutres, *Byz. Zeitschrift*, 29-30, 1929-30, pp. 44-45.

life of politics (*ὁ πολιτικός*), and the life of contemplation (*ὁ θεωρητικός*) ; cf. also *Politics*, IV, 11.

As to the 'squareness' of people like Leo, we may compare *Politics*, IV, 1, 3 : 'For the best is often unattainable, and therefore the true legislator and statesman ought to be acquainted, not only with that which is best in the abstract, but also with that which is best relatively to circumstances', as well as IV, 1, 6 : 'We should consider, not only what form of government is best, but also what is possible and what is most easily attainable by all. There are some who would have none but the most perfect', etc. (Jowett's transl.) – and the whole of IV, 11.

Already in an earlier context, writing about Constantine IX, Psellus distinguishes between three different categories of men, here and there with Aristotelian undertones. II, 12, at the end of ch. 96, we read about the Emperor's extraordinary optimism even in times of imminent danger, when everybody else was filled with dread of what might happen – an attitude of which an example is given p. 25, 116 (compare the vindication of it 27, 119[1]). Psellus is anxious to stress that Constantine's faith in the future was based not on any power of divination as the emperor wanted people to believe (13, 97[26]) but on an easy-going and carefree disposition. Then he launches into a description of three kinds of characters, p. 13, 97. There are those who are always on the alert and full of worry, knowing that great disasters are often caused by trifling events. On the other hand, there are the simple-minded folk, who neither suspect the origin of future troubles nor deal with it from the very beginning. 'No ordinary man can discern the beginning of evil', says Aristotle, 'but only the true statesman'. They want a life of pleasure, for themselves and others, and always presage a happy ending to their troubles. Psellus obviously sees Constantine IX in this category ; note the correspondence between *καταμαντεύονται*, 13, 97[14] and *μαντευομένων*, 12, 96[13]. Finally, there is the élite. They are always prepared for trouble, never despair but always rely for support on the steadiness of their reasoning and on their superior judgement (*στερρότητι λογισμοῦ καὶ κρίσει βελτίονι*). However, this kind of souls is rare in my time, says Psellus : the highest degree of wisdom nowadays is to always be on one's guard against the future, to tackle the evil as soon as it appears, and, once it has occurred, to rise in defiance against it.

Finally there are, II, 68, 197 bis, echoes of yet another famous tripartite division. We know what a great part this division of the soul plays in Plato's Republic – see for instance J. Burnet's edition of *Phaedo* (1911), p. 68, note to 68 c 2. *Republic*, 443 d Plato writes : *συναρμόσαντα τρία ὄντα* (of the soul), *ὥσπερ ὅρους τρεῖς ἁρμονίας ἀτεχνῶς, νεάτης τε καὶ ὑπάτης καὶ μέσης, καὶ εἰ ἄλλα ἄττα μεταξὺ τυγχάνει ὄντα, πάντα ταῦτα συνδήσοντα καὶ παντάπασιν ἕνα γενόμενον ἐκ πολλῶν.* Psellus says of Constantine IX (line 5) that he soon tired of his enthusiasms and liked change : *ἀπὸ τῆς ὑμάτης, ὃ δή φασι, καταπίπτων ἐπὶ τὴν νήτην, ἢ καὶ τὴν σύγκρασιν ἀμφοῖν βουλόμενος.* When Psellus saw that he began to bore him with his philosophical lectures he turned to something more pleasant, playing *τὴν ῥητορικὴν λύραν.* (These last few words are synonymous with *λογικὴν ... κιθάραν*, 70, 201[2], and Renauld's translation : 'la lyre de la raison' misses the point. Sewter also fails to bring out the parallel).

Cp. what Psellus says in another context, MIGNE, *Patrol. Gr.*, CXXII, 1180 C : *τοὺς περὶ τὴν κιθάραν μιμήσομαι. Τί δὲ οὗτοι δρῶσιν ; ἐπειδὰν αἴσθωνται τοὺς ἀκούοντας κορεννυμένους τοῦ μέλους, μεταβάλλουσι τὰς χορδὰς, στρέφοντες αὐτὰς τοῖς καλάμοις, καὶ μεταστρέφοντες καὶ ποικίλας ἁρμονίας μεταχειρίζοντες, ἵνα διὰ τῆς τοιαύτης μεταλλαγῆς τε καὶ μεταβάσεως ἀκορέστους τῆς μουσικῆς ἡδονῆς τοὺς ἀκροατὰς ἔχωσιν. Οὕτω γοῦν κἀγὼ σοι μεταποιήσω τοὺς ἐμοὺς λόγους. Καὶ νῦν μὲν ἱλαροὺς τούτους παρέξω σοι, νῦν δὲ συντόνους, καὶ νῦν μὲν ἀναβεβλημένους καὶ μαλακούς, νῦν δὲ γενναίους καὶ ἰσχυρούς, νῦν δὲ ἄλλην μορφὴν ἔχοντας.*

Also elsewhere in the *Chronographia* Psellus is fond of using metaphors which refer to the lyre. I, 2, 2[4], *ὁ δέ γε Κωνσταντῖνος ἀνειμένος τοῖς πᾶσιν ὤπτο* ; I, 4, 4[6] (of Basil II) : *ἐξ ἀνειμένου βίου ... εἰς τὸ σύντονον μετεβάλετο ... καὶ τὸ μὲν διερρυηκὸς τονωσάντων, συντεινάντων δὲ τὸ χαῦνον.* II, 29, 124[2] *ἐξ οἵας τε ἀκμῆς καὶ εὐτονωτάτης ἰσχύος εἰς ἐναντίαν ἕξιν μετήμειπτο*, and 30, 125[4] *τῇ δὲ εὐαρμοστίᾳ καὶ εὐτονίαν ἰσχύος ἐπέθηκεν.* II, 48, 157[13] *πῇ μὲν ἁπαλός τε καὶ ἔκλυτος, πῇ δὲ σκληρὸς ἄγαν καὶ σύντονος.* II, 112, 46[13]he speaks of Isaac Comnenus' nature : *ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις τῆς τοιαύτης ἀκούῃ χορδῆς ἅπαξ ἐνταθείσης, νῦν μὲν ἐναρμόνιον, νῦν δὲ σύντονον ἀναπεμπούσης ἦχον* (Renauld : *ἠχώ*). *ἔμοιγ' οὖν ἀμφοτέρων τῶν καιρῶν συγκεχωρημένων, τῆς τε συντονίας καὶ τῆς ἀνέσεως, διπλοῦς τις ὁ αὐτὸς κατεφαίνετο, καὶ οὔτ' ἂν ᾠήθην χαλασθέντα πλέον ταθήσεσθαι, οὔτε μὴν συντονώτερον ἐνταθέντα ἀνεθήσεσθαι αὖθις* ... All these phrases are of course echoes

from Plato, see not least Burnet's comments to Phaedo 86, particularly to a 3, b 7, c 3.

(Perhaps two more expressions from the musical sphere may be mentioned here : I, 88, 6^5, *οὐχὶ τῆς κιθάρας τὸ μέλος ἀλλὰ τοῦ τὴν κιθάραν μουσικῶς κρούοντος*, and II, 175, 5^5 *τὸ δὲ βάδισμα ... οἷον μουσικός τις ἀνὴρ ἐπαινέσειε περὶ ἄρσεις καὶ θέσεις τὴν πραγματείαν ποιούμενος*).

Chronographia, I, 101, 24^{19} we find another reminiscence from Plato : *ὅθεν ἐπὶ μικρᾶς σχεδίας μέγα περαιώσασθαι τετόλμηκα πέλαγος*. Cp. *Phaedo*, 85 d *ἐπὶ τούτου ὀχούμενον ὥσπερ ἐπὶ σχεδίας κινδυνεύοντα διαπλεῦσαι τὸν βίον*. Cp. also CIC., *Tusc.*, I, 30 tamquam in rate in mari immenso nostra vehitur oratio. (Burnet : 'Simmias is thinking of the raft of Odysseus') (3).

H. Grégoire has pointed out, *Byzantion*, 2, 1925, 555, that *τοὺς παῖδας λογιστεύων πικρῶς*, *Chronographia*, I, 40, 12^8, is an imitation of Philostratus, *Lives of the Sophists*, 512 : *τοὺς Σμυρναίους ἐλογίστευε πικρῶς καὶ δυστρόπως*. Psellus imitates this author also I, 4, 4^{10}, writing about Basil II : *ἀπαρακαλύπτως ἐκώμαζε καὶ θαμὰ ἤρα καὶ συσσιτίων ἐφρόντιζε* ; a contrasting portrait is given of Michael VII, II, 174, 3^4 : *οὔτε γαστρὸς ἤττητο, οὔτε κωμάζειν ἀπαρακαλύπτως εἵλετο*. Cp. PHILOSTRATUS, *op. cit.*, 513 (of Isaeus, the Assyrian sophist) : *γαστρός τε γὰρ καὶ φιλοποσίας ἤττητο καὶ ... θαμὰ ἤρα καὶ ἀπαρακαλύπτως ἐκώμαζεν*.

Philostratus, *op. cit.*, 577-578, helps us understand a passage in the *Chronologia*, II, 69, 197 bis, end. Psellus says that when Constantine IX grew weary of philosophy and rhetoric (cp. p. 5 above), Psellus would change the subject, pretending that he had forgotten what he knew and that *μικροῦ δεῖν τὸ τοῦ Ἑρμογένους παθεῖν, σβεσθείσης μοι τῆς θερμότητος τῷ ὑπερβάλλοντι τῆς ποιότητος*. – Sewter explains that Hermogenes acquired a great reputation as an

(3) B. P. MCCARTHY, "Literary Reminiscences in Psellus's 'Chronographia' ", *Byzantion*, 1940-41, p. 298, quotes *ταυρηδὸν πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀποβλέψας*, etc. as being a contaminatio of *Phaedo*, 117 b and 60 a. She also points out that the reference to a charioteer reining in his spirited horse is a free allusion to the myth in the *Phaedrus*, 146 a-c. – Note that the first expression, with slight variations, is also used by EUNAPIUS, *Lives of the Sophists*, 483 : *ὁ ἀνθύπατος ταυρηδὸν ὑπιδὼν τὸν Ἀψίνην*, who also (504) refers to Plato's story about the human soul being borne along by two horses.

orator in his youth, 'but apparently was afflicted with some disease that rendered him totally unfit mentally' so that after he was twenty-five he did nothing remarkable during the rest of his long life. – But Philostratus says explicitly : *ἀφῃρέθη τὴν ἕξιν ὑπ' οὐδεμιᾶς φανερᾶς νόσου* (4). It was simply a case of a premature youngster 'burnt out' too early. In the same way Psellus risked to spoil the effect of his talents by offering too much of a good thing.

One author who never seems to be far away from Psellus' mind is Homer, *ὁ ποιητής*. I, 146, 61 we read the delightful story of how one of the courtiers complimented Constantine IX's mistress on her beauty by quoting two words from the Ilias, 3, 156-157 (*οὐ νέμεσις*), and how the reference was immediately understood by all his colleagues around him. The anecdote gives us an idea of the literary sophistication at the court at Psellus' time. Already as a child thoroughly acquainted with Homer, Psellus alludes to him ever so often, not seldom in a rather subtle way. When Romanus IV wants to make a martial impression, he is ironically described (II, 158, 12^{9}) as imitating the great Aias (*Ilias*, 15, 678) : he takes a shield in his left hand and a spear in his right, 'made of pieces spliced together, twenty-two cubits long'. Perhaps Psellus wants us to remember Patroclus' words to Achilles, *Ilias*, 16, 40 :

> *δὸς δέ μοι ὦμοιιν τὰ σὰ τεύχεα θωρηχθῆναι,*
> *αἴ κέ με σοὶ ἴσκοντες ἀπόσχωνται πολέμοιο.*

Among Homeric allusions not identified by the commentators there is one already on the first page of his text. Basil II is being described, I, 2, 2^{17}, as *πρῶτον, ὅ φασιν, ὑπηνήτην*, cp. *Ilias*, 24, 348 *πρῶτον ὑπηνήτῃ, τοῦ περ χαριεστάτη ἥβη* = *Odyssey*, 10, 279. Cp. also *Chronologia*, II, 174, 3^{1} *Ἄρτι δὲ πρώτως ἀνθοῦντα ἔχων τὸν ἴουλον*, *Odyssey*, 11, 319-320 *πρίν σφωϊν ὑπὸ κροτάφοισιν ἰούλους ἀνθῆσαι*. I, 90, 9^{8} *καὶ ἄλλο τι βουλευσάμενος ἑτέρας ἠφίει φωνὰς* echoes *Ilias*, 9, 313 *ὅς χ' ἕτερον μὲν κεύθῃ ἐνὶ φρεσίν, ἄλλο δὲ εἴπῃ* ; I, 101, 25^{6} *δεινότερον τῇ καρδίᾳ ... ἐβυσσοδόμευεν* should be compared with *Odyssey*, 17, 66.

(4) *ἕξις* here means 'powers', 'capacity', 'skill' as for instance *Chronologia*, II, 74, 6^{15} *ἐκείνῳ γε τῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ μοῖρά τις ἀπενεμήθη τῆς περὶ τοὺς λόγους ἕξεως*. What Psellus, as so often playing with the words, wants to convey is the man's 'capacity to express himself' (rather than 'Ganz ungebildet war er eigentlich nicht', as suggested by J. Sykutres, *Byz. Zeitschrift*, 29-30, 1929-30, p. 48.

al. : *κακὰ δὲ φρεσὶ βυσσοδόμευον*. – I, 148, 64[2] *οὔτε γὰρ ἀτράκτῳ ποτὲ τὰς χεῖρας ἠσχόλησεν, οὔτε ἱστουργεῖν ἐπεβάλλετο*, and II, 49, 159[3] *οὐδὲ τῶν ὅσα γυναῖκας περὶ αὑτὰ ἀσχολεῖ, ἱστόν φημι καὶ ἠλακάτην καὶ ἔριον καὶ τὸ ὑφαίνειν, οὐδὲ τούτων ἐφρόντιζεν*. – See *Ilias*, 6, 491 *ἱστόν τ' ἠλακάτην τε*, and *Septuaginta*, *Proverbs*, 31, 13 *ἔρια καὶ λίνον ἐποίησεν εὐχρηστον ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτῆς*, and 31, 19 *τὰς δὲ χεῖρας αὐτῆς ἐρείδει εἰς ἄτρακτον*. – II, 8, 90[5] *νέφος ἀθρόον ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἀρθὲν ἀχλύος τὴν βασιλίδα πληροῖ*. Renauld mistranslates *ἀχλύς* ('inquiétude' instead of 'darkness') and the passages in the Ilias to which he refers are inappropriate, see instead 4, 274 *νέφος εἵπετο πεζῶν*, 16, 66 *Τρώων νέφος*. – II, 9, 91[27] *ἡ μὲν οὖν ἀναίτιος αἰτία τῆς ... ὁρμῆς*, see *Ilias*, 13, 775, *ἀναίτιον αἰτιάοιτο*, *Odyssey*, 20, 135. – II, 182, 18[4] *τοῦ ῥυπῶντος χιτῶνος*, cp. *Odyssey*, 24, 227 *ῥυπάοντα ... χιτῶνα*.

From Christian literature the following examples may be added to those already noted by the commentators : I, 139, 44[13] *χαριεστάτη καὶ ἱλαρωτάτη* echoes *Septuaginta*, *Proverbs*, 18, 22 *εὗρεν χάριτας, ἔλαβεν δὲ ἱλαρότητα*. – II, 78, 12[13] *ὅ τε κάλαμος καὶ τὸ ὕσωπον*, cp. *Ev. Joh.*, 19, 29 *ὑσώπῳ περιθέντες*.

To sum up : there is in the *Chronographia* – to use Psellus' own kind of language – a gentle shower, not a heavy rain of literary quotations and allusions : *ἐκείνῳ ἡ γλῶττα ψεκάζει, οὐχ ὑετίζει ...* Some of them are chosen very wittily, practically all seem to have sprung naturally to his mind and into their context. Most are made without a specific reference to the origin, often one gets the feeling that Psellus likes to tease his presumptive reader and challenge his erudition. Psellus is proud of his rhetorical talent ; in the Chronographia this particular aspect of it is certainly an asset.

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AVITUS, ITALY AND THE EAST IN A.D. 455-456 (*)

The history of western Europe in the Fifth Century was characterized by the accelerating disintegration of social and political unity. Not only were barbarian tribes showing a growing independence in enclaves in Gaul, Spain and Africa, but the very areas remaining under direct Roman control also were exhibiting an increasing particularism. Gaul and Italy, notably, became isolated from each other as their respective aristocracies came to concentrate more and more on local interests. By the time of Valentinian III it had become customary for Italians to hold office in Italy and Gauls in Gaul, and it became common for Gauls not to leave their homeland except on matters of business (1).

One of the few opportunities for a reversal of this process of increasing disunity came in 455-456, when, as a result of a series of fortuitous circumstances, the Gallic aristocrat Eparchius Avitus was able to secure a hold on the western throne in Rome (2). On March 16, 455, Valentinian III, the last survivor of the house of Theodosius

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(1) For the background of this period, see J. B. BURY, *History of the Later Roman Empire* (London, 1923), hereafter BURY, I, pp. 174-347 ; A. H. M. JONES, *The Later Roman Empire 284-602* (Oxford, 1964), hereafter JONES, pp. 182-243 and passim ; and E. STEIN, *Geschichte des spätrömisches Reiches* (Vienna, 1928), hereafter STEIN, pp. 388-575. For the growing isolation between Gaul and Italy, see J. MATTHEWS, *Western Aristocracies and Imperial Court A.D 364-425* (Oxford, 1975), pp. 320-323, 333 ff. ; S. OOST, *Galla Placidia* (Chicago, 1968), pp. 77-78 ; K. STROHEKER, *Der senatorische Adel im spätantiken Gallien* (Reutlingen, 1948), hereafter STROHEKER, pp. 3, 48 ; and J. SUNDWALL, *Weströmische Studien* (Berlin, 1915), hereafter SUNDWALL, p. 10.

(2) For discussion of Avitus' reign, see C. E. STEVENS, *Sidonius Apollinaris and His Age* (Oxford, 1933), hereafter STEVENS, pp. 19-35 ; BURY, pp. 323-329 ; and STEIN, pp. 540-551.

to hold the imperial throne, was assassinated, and his successor, the Roman senator Petronius Maximus, was murdered himself on May 31 while attempting to flee Rome after the landing of the Vandals (3). On June 2 the Vandals began their sack of Rome, and when they finally departed fourteen days later, they carried off to Carthage with them many noble Roman hostages, including Eudoxia, the daughter of Theodosius II and wife of Valentinian III, and her daughters Placidia and Eudocia (4). For the moment, the government in Italy was in a state of shock, and no move was made to fill the vacancy on the western throne (5).

1. The Acclamation and Advent of Avitus

In Gaul, Eparchius Avitus, an Arvernian aristocrat who had been appointed *magister militum* by Petronius Maximus, was at the Visigothic court at Tolosa when the news arrived of the death of the emperor and the Vandal sack of Rome (6). The Gothic king Theoderic encouraged Avitus to seize the throne and promised him his support, and on July 9/10, 455, Avitus was proclaimed Augustus at Arelate by the assembled Gallic army and nobility (7).

(3) Note Hyd., *Chron.*, 164 (s.a. 455), "Usque ad Valentinianum Theodosi generatio tenuit principatum". For the most recent edition, see A. Tranoy, *Hydace : Chronique*, Sources chrétiennes 218-219 (Paris, 1974). For Valentinian III and Petronius Maximus, see references in notes 1 and 2 above.

(4) For these events, see Bury, I, p. 325 and Stein, pp. 541-543.

(5) Although Sidonius referred to another such period of vacancy on the western throne as a "yawning interregnum" (*Ep.*, 1.11.6), at these times rule of the West technically reverted to the eastern emperor, as in Hyd., *Chron.*, 165 (s.a. 455), "Marcianus, quarto iam regni sui anno, obtinet monarchiam". For the Italian demoralization, see Stevens, p. 27.

(6) On Avitus' career and offices, see Stroheker, #58 and Sundwall, #60. On Avitus as *magister militum*, note A. Demandt, "Magister militum", *RE*, supp. 12 (1970), cols. 681-683. See Sid., *Carm.*, 7.375-451 for Avitus as *magister militum* at the Visigothic court ...

(7) On Avitus' Gothic support, see Sid., *Carm.*, 7.458-521, note especially vv. 519-521, "discedis Avite maestus, qui Gallos scires non posse latere quod possint servire Getae te principe". For Avitus' acclamation, see Hyd., *Chron.*, 163, "Ab exercitu Gallicano et ab honoratis, primum Tolosae, dehinc apud Arelatum Augustus appelatus est" ; and also Sid., *Carm.*, 7.572-595 ; *MGH AA*, 9.304, 663 and 11.157, 186, 225 ; Isid., *Hist. Goth.*, 31 ; and Fredegar., 2.54.

On September 21, at the head of his coalition of Gallo-Romans and Visigoths, Avitus entered Italy ; he would have arrived at Rome in early October (8).

If Avitus were to consolidate and maintain his power, he would have to conciliate several potential sources of opposition : 1) the Vandals, fresh from their successful attack on Rome, 2) Marcian, the legitimate emperor in Constantinople, 3) Majorian and Ricimer, the commanders of the Italian army, and 4) the Italian senators, who were accustomed to control the high offices of the imperial administration in Rome.

Avitus took immediate steps to deal with these possible enemies. He obtained recognition from the Roman senate (9). He used his Gothic allies to hold Ricimer and Majorian in check (10). According to Hydatius, he sent an embassy to Marcian requesting recognition ; and according to Priscus he sent another to Geiseric, demanding that he adhere to the old *foedus*, of 442, and threatening him with war if he did not :

> 1) Priscus, fr. 24.
>
> And Avitus, the emperor of the Western Romans, also sent an embassy himself to Geiseric, reminding him of the old treaty, [and saying that] if he did not chose to abide by it, he too would make preparations, trusting to the domestic forces and the support of his allies (11).

The need to find a solution to the Vandal problem was probably seen by Avitus as his most important task : it had been the inability of the Italian government to deal with them that had given Avitus the opportunity to seize the throne ; to hold it successfully, he would have to show that he could deal with Geiseric more effectively. With this in mind, he would have viewed as essential the outcomes of his embassies not only to Carthage, but also to Constantinople,

(8) *Auct. Prosp. Haun.*, s.a. 455 (*MGH AA*, 9.304), "Italiamque cum praesumpti honoris collegiis ingressus XI k. Oct" For Avitus' Gothic bodyguard, see Joh. Ant., fr. 202.

(9) Hyd., *Chron.*, 166, "a Romanis et evocatus et susceptus fuerat imperator".

(10) Joh. Ant., fr. 202.

(11) Embassy to Marcian : Hyd., *Chron.*, 166, ". . legati ad Marcianum pro unanimitate mittuntur imperii". Geiseric's response was to send out another raiding party in the spring of 456, see quotation number 5 and note 36 below.

where he could hope to obtain aid against the Vandals. Geiseric's rejection of Avitus' diplomatic overtures made it all the more imperative that Avitus come to an understanding with Marcian (12).

2. Direct Evidence for Marcian's Attitude to Avitus

Modern scholarship is still undecided on whether or not Avitus was ever recognized by Marcian, although the majority opinion, for various reasons, has been that he was not. It has been pointed out by Seeck, for example, that Avitus' consulship of 456 was not used in the East and does not appear on most *fasti*, that Avitus does not appear in the superscriptions of Eastern laws promulgated during his reign, and that no coins are known to have been issued in Avitus' name from eastern mints (13). With regard to the first two of these arguments, however, Baynes has countered that the eastern consuls may have been named in 455, before Avitus' intentions were known, and that in the *Codex Iustinianus* it was specified that laws did not have to be issued in the names of all the legitimate rulers to be valid (14).

The evidence of the coinage is likewise equivocal, since by the mid Fifth Century the *unanimitas* of minting was no longer rigidly adhered to and seems to have become primarily symbolic (15).

(12) On Avitus' need of help from the East, see Stein, p. 545. Marcian had sent *auxilia* to Italy in 452 to aid against Attila (Hyd., *Chron.*, 154). Note also that Marcian had had to wait a year and a half himself before being recognized by Valentinian III (Stein, p. 466).

(13) O. Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, VI (Stuttgart, 1920), hereafter Seeck, pp. 330, 476, n. 8. For similar objections, see T. Hodgkin, *Italy and Her Invaders 376-476*, II (London, 1880-1889), hereafter Hodgkin, p. 388 ; Stein, pp. 545-546 ; Stevens, pp. 36-37 The only *fasti* to include Avitus' consulate are the Hydatian (*MGH AA*, 9 247), which have him as sole consul for 455.

(14) N. Baynes, "Professor Bury's *History of the Later Roman Empire*", *JRS*, 12 (1922), hereafter Baynes, pp. 222-23. Hodgkin, p. 388, n. 1, suggested that the omission of Avitus' name from the consular lists was a form of *damnatio memoriae*. It should be noted also that, just as no eastern inscriptions name Avitus as consul, those of the West are dated only by Avitus' consulate (see *CIL*, 13.11208 ; De Rossi, *Inscriptiones Christianae urbis Romae*, 1.795-797). The practice of dating by the eastern or western consul alone was not uncommon.

(15) O. Ulrich-Bansa, *Moneta Mediolanensis* (Venice, 1949), hereafter Ulrich-Bansa ; see also J. F. W. de Salis, "The Coins of the Two Eudoxias, Eudocia,

Furthermore, Ulrich-Bansa does attribute to the reign of Avitus a single tremissis in Marcian's name issued at Mediolanum (16). In view of the great rarity of the coins of Avitus, a similar token issue on the part of Marcian easily could have left no surviving specimen (17). It also should be noted that by this time the number of "G"'s in the reverse legend VICTORIA AVG no longer indicated a specific plurality of emperors, but had become fixed at VICTORIA AVGGG, the legend which appears on most of Avitus' solidi (18).

Another objection to Avitus' recognition by Marcian has been proposed by Baynes (19). He argued that since the *Fasti Vindobonenses* refer to western emperors who are recognized in the East as *d.n.* (i.e. *dominus noster*), and since Avitus does not receive this title in the *Fasti*, therefore he cannot have been recognized by Marcian. The *Fasti*, however, are inconsistent on this point. The emperor Libius Severus, for example, is referred to as *do.n.* under the year 461, when few would suggest that he was recognized by Leo, but as simply Severus under 462 and 465 (20). Since Avitus is mentioned only once in the *Fasti* by name, the omission can be regarded as suggestive, perhaps, but not as conclusive evidence for his non-recognition by Marcian.

On balance, the evidence presented so far, although inconclusive, would indicate that Avitus probably was not recognized by Marcian, and this hypothesis would have to stand were it not for

Placidia and Honoria, and of Theodosius II, Marcian, and Leo I, Struck in Italy", *NC*, 7 (1867), p. 215, who suggests that coins of Marcian struck at Italian mints were struck during the interregna before and after Avitus' reign.

(16) Ulrich-Bansa, p. 252 ; he interprets Avitus' issue in Marcian's name as being related to Avitus' mission in the Danube region, on which see section three below.

(17) Ulrich-Bansa (pp. 249-250), after an exhaustive search, could locate only 41 surviving solidi and tremisses of Avitus.

(18) On the significance of this legend, see J. Lafaurie, "Le trésor de Chécy (Loiret)", *Gallia*, supp. 12 (1958), pp. 280-285. Some of Avitus' solidi bear the legend VICTORIA AVG, with only a single "G", but Ulrich-Bansa (p. 249, n. 67) interprets this not as a sign of independance but as a die-cutter's error.

(19) Baynes, p. 223.

(20) *Fasti Vindobonenses priores*, s. aa. 461-465 (*MGH AA*, 9.305). For the non-recognition of Severus by Leo, see S. Oost, "D. N. Libius Severus P.F.Aug.", *CP*, 65 (1970), hereafter Oost, p. 235 ; see also Bury, I, pp. 332-333.

other evidence to the contrary. The contemporary Spanish chronicler Hydatius, the best surviving source on the reign of Avitus, states under the year 455 first that

> through Avitus, who was summoned and accepted as emperor by the Romans, ambassadors are sent to Marcian for the sake of unanimity of power,

and later that

> Marcian and Avitus make use of the rule of Roman power in concord (21).

These passages have led some to conclude that Marcian did indeed recognize Avitus as his imperial colleague, while others interpret them more conservatively (22). Stein, for example, suggested that the claim of *concordia* is a reflection of Avitan propaganda after the refusal of Marcian to recognize Avitus (23). Less negatively, Baynes interpreted the account to mean only that "Marcian was not hostile to Avitus", and Stevens to mean that Avitus' embassy was received "with kindness" (24).

3. Diplomatic Considerations : Pannonia

Given the ambiguity of the evidence, official or otherwise, which directly concerns Marcian's relations with Avitus, it is helpful to look at some indirect evidence, viz. the diplomatic considerations which would have influenced Marcian in deciding upon Avitus' request for recognition. E. Stein touched upon an analysis of this kind in his explication of a cryptic phrase from Sidonius Apollinaris' panegyric on Avitus, concerning an incident which occurred after Avitus' accession but before his arrival in Rome :

(21) Hyd., *Chron.*, 166, 169 ; see notes 9, 11 above.

(22) Among those in favor of recognition are Hodgkin (p. 388, n. 1), Bury (p. 326), and, recently, W. Bayless (*The Political Unity of the Roman Empire During the Disintegration of the West, A.D. 395-457* [diss. Brown Univ., 1972].

(23) Stein, p. 546, n. 1.

(24) Baynes, p. 223, Stevens, pp. 36-37, see also Seeck, p. 330, "Er zeigte sich ihm nicht gerade unfreundlich ...".

2) SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS, *Carmen*, 7.589-690.
and his march alone recovered the Pannonias, lost for so many generations.

Stein interpreted this passage literally, as meaning that Avitus actually did intervene in the Danubian provinces, and that by doing so he compromised himself in his negotiations with Marcian, who had interests there himself and who settled the Ostrogoths there in 456 ([25]). But this interpretation cannot stand under close scrutiny. It has been noted, for example, that a campaign in Pannonia, which was still in an uproar after the battle of the Nedao in 454, would have been folly for Avitus at a time when he still had to contend with the Vandals and the Roman senate ([26]). Moreover, even if Avitus had entered Pannonia in person, there is no *a priori* reason to believe he would have incurred Marcian's enmity : the western part of the diocese was still under western jurisdiction, and, in fact, Marcian's settlement of the area in 456 could be viewed equally well as an example of cooperation with Avitus ([27]). But arguments along

(25) STEIN, pp. 545-546. For the details of Marcian's settlement of Pannonia, see JORDANES, *Getica*, 264-267 (*MGH AA*, 5.126-127). The main body of Ostrogoths was granted Pannonia bounded by Moesia Superior on the east, Dalmatia on the south, Noricum on the west and the Danube on the north, *i.e.*, the provinces of Pannonia I and II, Savia and Valeria. The "Gothi minores" received Moesia Superior. The Ostrogoths also received an annual subsidy (JORD., *Get.*, 270), perhaps 300 pounds of gold (PRISCUS, fr. 28). For Avitus in Pannonia, see also A. ALFÖLDI, *Der Untergang der Römerherrschaft in Pannonien*, II (Berlin-Leipzig, 1926), pp. 91, 100. It is difficult to accept the suggestion of Stevens (p. 30) that Avitus penetrated deeply enough to receive the submission of the Scirians and Rugians, who in 456 were settled in Scythia Minor and Moesia Inferior, and Arcadiopolis and Byzzis respectively (JORD., *Get.*, 265-266). L. SCHMIDT, *Die Ostgermanen* (Munich, 1933), pp. 262, 269 even suggests that it was Avitus himself who established the Ostrogoths as *foederati* in Pannonia in 455, and that this agreement was only renewed by Marcian in 456. This interpretation, like that of Stein, would imply that Avitus was intervening in a area under eastern jurisdiction.

(26) See, for example, HODGKIN, p. 387.

(27) In the early Fifth Century, the entire diocese of Illyricum/Pannonia was administered by the West ; see *Not. dig. occ.*, 2 and passim. Circa 437, however, Valentinian III divided the diocese with Theodosius II (CASS., *Var.*, 2.1.9, JORD., *Rom.*, 329), and Bury (I, pp., 225-226, n. 5) suggests that Dalmatia, Pannonia II and Valeria were transferred to the East. But since Marcian, in his settlement of

such lines are speculative, and more probable explanations of Sidonius' statement can be adduced.

First of all, as Anderson points out, the "march" is simply Avitus' journey from Gaul to Rome, on which it is clear that no military action took place (28). Moreover, the term "Pannonias" itself is ambiguous. It could refer either to the provinces themselves, or to the Diocletianic diocese, which, in Sidonius' time, included the provinces of Noricum Ripense and Mediterraneum, Pannonia I and II, Valeria, Savia and Dalmatia (29). If Sidonius' reference were to the diocese, then by synecdoche he also could be referring to any part of the diocese.

Now, in his discussion of Avitus' earlier career, Sidonius mentions that Avitus campaigned with Aetius in Noricum, a conflict dated by Hydatius to 430-431. Moreover, Noricum was the only portion of the diocese which remained under some degree of Roman control : in 468 Sidonius spoke of the "Noricans restraining the Ostrogoths", and in the 480s *limitanei* were still there on active duty and expecting to be paid from Italy (30). It is not unlikely that Avitus would have made use of his Norican connections to secure his northeastern frontier before he arrived at Rome, and it is probably to such an effort that Sidonius alludes (31). Such an

456 (note 25 above), also disposed of Pannonia I and Savia, it may be that the division of 437 left only the two provinces of Noricum under western jurisdiction. For geography, see BURY, I, p. 166.

(28) W. B. ANDERSON, *Sidonius. Poems and Letters*, I, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), hereafter ANDERSON, pp. 168-169, n. 3.

(29) On the Diocletianic diocese of Pannonia (Illyricum in the *Notitia dignitatum*) see JONES, p. 1455.

(30) Avitus in Noricum : SID., *Carm.*, 7.233-235 ; see A. LOYEN, *Recherches historiques sur les panégyriques de Sidoine Apollinaire* (Paris, 1942), p. 43. See also SID., *Carm.*, 2.377, "Noricus Ostrogothum quod continet", and the *Vita Severini* (*MGH AA*, 1.1-30), 7, "multorum milites oppidorum pro custodia limitis publicis stipendiis alebantur". For Noricum under Roman jurisdiction, see BURY, I, p. 411, n. 1, JONES, p. 246.

(31) Note that "Pannonias" will fit Sidonius' meter, in *Carm.*, 7.589, "Noricum/-a" will not. Sidonius' statement that the recovered territory had been "lost for many generations" is apparently rhetorical exaggeration : The Pannonias had been recovered in 427 (MARCELLINUS COMES, *Chron.*, s.a. 427, "Pannoniae, quae per quinquaginta annos ab Hunnis retinebantur, a Romanis receptae sunt"), and a Norican rebellion had been subdued by Aetius in 430-431 (HYD., *Chron.*, 93

interpretation not only has strategic, historic and literary soundness, but it also removes the necessity of explaining Avitus' intervention in a troubled area not even under his own jurisdiction. Avitus' action in Pannonia, then, probably had little effect on his negotiations with Marcian, and for an analysis of Marcian's attitude to Avitus in the light of his diplomatic considerations it will be necessary to look elsewhere for evidence.

4. Diplomatic Considerations : The Vandals

It appears that the outcome of the negotiations between Avitus and Marcian was greatly dependent upon Marcian's relations with the Vandals. When Marcian received the news, probably in July, of the death of Petronius Maximus and the Vandal sack of Rome, as sole Augustus he would have been responsible for dealing with affairs in the West (32).

From the beginning of his reign, Marcian's Vandal policy had been peaceful, as reflected in the traditions, first found in Procopius, that in 439 he had sworn an oath to Geiseric not to make war on the Vandals and that he indeed did nothing against them :

> 3) Procopius, *Bellum Vandalicum*, 1.4.10-11.
>
> And he bound him by oaths that, if it should be in his power, he would never take up arms, at least, against the Vandals. Thus, then, Marcian was released and came to Byzantium, and when Theodosius died some time later he obtained the rule. And with regard to

and 95, "Aetius dux utriusque militiae Noros edomat rebellantes"), probably the campaigns in which Avitus served (note 30 above). Seeck (pp. 328-329) suggests that when Avitus entered Italy on September 21 it was only on the way to Pannonia, where he awaited the response to his embassy to Constantinople. This interpretation, however, is contradicted by Hydatius, who states that Avitus sent his eastern embassy after arriving at Rome (Hyd., *Chron.*, 166, notes 9 and 11 above).

(32) For Marcian as sole emperor, see Stein, pp. 522-523, also note 5 above The journey, by sail, from Rome, or Carthage, to Constantinople may have averaged a few weeks, the return journey perhaps as much as a month ; see Jones, 402-403, 842-843, also L. Casson, *The Ancient Mariners* (New York, 1959), pp. 152-158 and E. N. Borza, *Travel and Communication in Classical Times* (Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Penn., 1969), passim.

everything else he showed himself a good emperor, but he considered matters in Libya of no account.

In 455, moreover, Marcian could not afford to become involved in hostilities against the Vandals : the Danubian provinces were still in turmoil after the battle of the Nedao, and the East Romans already were involved in a campaign against the Lazi in Colchis (33).

Marcian, therefore, attempted a diplomatic solution to the Vandal problem, and sent an embassy to Geiseric, requesting an end to raids on Italy and the return of the imperial captives :

4) PRISCUS, fr. 24.

After Geiseric sacked Rome and while Avitus was ruling, Marcian, the emperor of the Eastern Romans, sent ambassadors to Geiseric, the ruler of the Vandals, [requesting] that he keep away from the land of Italy and that he send back the imperial women whom he had carried off as captives, both the wife of Valentinian and her daughters. And, having accomplished nothing, the ambassadors returned to the East ; for Geiseric heeded none of the commands from Marcian, and he was not willing to release the women.

The embassy would have returned, perhaps, by early November, at about the same time that Avitus' embassy would have arrived from Italy requesting recognition (34). Marcian, however, stood to

(33) The Nedao and aftermath : JORD., *Get.*, 261 ff., see BURY, I, p. 296, SCHMIDT, pp. 268, 272, and STEIN, pp 499-500. For Marcian and the Lazic war, see PRISCUS, fr. 25, and SEECK, p. 329, STEIN, p. 522. Stein dates the war to 456, but since Hydatius (*Chron.*, 177) states that by 456 the news had made its way to Hispalis in Spain, apparently through merchants, the campaign is probably to be dated to 455. It would have been difficult, moreover, to squeeze the negotiations between Marcian and the Lazi (PRISCUS, fr. 25-26) into the short period between the end of a campaign in 456 and Marcian's death in late January of 457, see B. CROKE, "The Date and Circumstances of Marcians Decease, A.D. 457," *Byzantion* 48 (1978), pp. 5-9.

(34) For duration of voyages, see note 32 above. The *mare clausum* began on November 11, and although this limitation was not always observed, travelers, if possible, would attempt to complete their voyages before the deadline. See also E. DE SAINT-DENIS, "Mare clausum", *REA*, 25 (1947), pp. 196-214, and note that even official traffic from Rome to Carthage seems to have been restrained when the sea was closed (JONES, pp. 403, 1161-1163). Priscus is a firstrate source for Marcian's diplomatic activities : he was *assessor* to Marcian's *magister officiorum*

gain nothing by recognizing Avitus immediately. To do so would involve him in the aggressive Vandal policy which Avitus, of necessity, had adopted, and Marcian still hoped to gain his ends through diplomacy (35). He therefore sent yet another embassy to Carthage. This time he was as conciliatory as possible ; not only did he chose as his ambassador the Arian bishop Bleda, but Priscus mentions only one demand this time, the return of the captives, the one point upon which Marcian absolutely could not compromise :

> 5) Priscus, fr. 24.
>
> And Marcian sent to him further letters and the ambassador Bleda, who was a bishop of the heresy of Geiseric ... When he arrived in his presence and realized that he was not going to give heed to his embassy, he broke forth into headstrong words, saying that it would not profit him if, carried away by his present prosperity, he should be prepared to arouse the emperor of the Eastern Romans to war against him by not releasing the imperial women. But neither the reasonableness of the words spoken before in the embassy, nor the fear of threats induced Geiseric to think moderately, for he dismissed Bleda without success, and dispatching a force again to Sicily and to the neighboring part of Italy he ravaged it all.

According to Hydatius, the Vandal raiding party consisted of sixty ships, and may have had designs against Gaul as well as Italy (36). It probably would have departed from Carthage by mid March, 456, the beginning of the sailing season (37).

Euphemius (Priscus, fr. 26). Stein (p. 546) suggests that the similarity of Marcian's and Avitus' demands indicate an attempt by Avitus to give the impression that he was cooperating with the East ; but it is unlikely that, unless there was cooperation, Avitus would have known of Marcian's efforts, and in any event, the demands themselves are only what would be expected under the circumstances.

(35) On Marcian's peaceful policy toward the Vandals, see Procop., *Vand.*, 1.4.10-11 (quotation number 3 above), also Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, 25, Cedrenus, *Historiae*, 344, Michael Glyca, *Annales*, 4.14, and Zonaras, *Annales*, 13.24. On Marcian's desire to avoid unnecessary wars, see Seeck, pp. 329-330, Stein, p. 545.

(36) Hyd., *Chron.*, 176, "magna multitudo Vandalorum quae se de Carthagine cum LX navibus ad Gallias vel ad Italiam moverat" ; see also Victor Vitensis, *Historia persecutionis Wandalicae*, 1.4.13 (*MGH AA*, 2.4).

(37) See de Saint-Denis, note 34 above.

There is both direct and circumstantial evidence that Bleda's outburst was not an idle threat, and that Marcian was indeed preparing for war with the Vandals in 456. The cessation of hostilities against the Lazi and the favorable terms granted to the Ostrogoths and other tribes in the Danubian provinces both indicate that Marcian wished to free his hands for action elsewhere (38). Moreover, Theodorus Lector, writing in the early part of the next century, states specifically that at the end of his reign Marcian was preparing for a Vandal war :

> 6) THEODORUS LECTOR, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 367.
> Marcian, when he learned of what had been done by the Africans against Rome and the imperial women, aroused himself as befitted an emperor and was making preparations for war ; but it came to pass that he departed into judgement [sc. he died] ... (39).

And at the end of the Sixth Century, Evagrius Scholasticus believed that due to Marcian's anger Geiseric actually did relent and release two of his captives :

> 7) EVAGRIUS SCHOLASTICUS, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 2.7.
> And, in order to placate Marcian, he sent to Byzantium the younger Placidia along with her mother Eudoxia, with the imperial attendants afterwards. For it had driven Marcian to anger that Rome had been sacked and that the imperial women had been so greatly outraged (40).

If Marcian were to initiate hostilities against the Vandals, he necessarily would have to cooperate with the western government,

(38) Negotiations and settlement with Lazi : PRISCUS, fr. 25-26, see note 33 above. For Marcian's good relations with the Ostrogoths, see SCHMIDT, pp. 272-273, for the settlement see note 25 above. Marcian also seems to have refused to support an Armenian revolt against Yezdigerd II in 456 (STEIN, p. 522).

(39) Death of Marcian : BURY, I, p. 239. For text of Theodorus, see *Theodoros Anagnostes. Kirchengeschichte*, G. Hansen ed. (Berlin, 1971).

(40) Contemporary sources indicate that the woman were not returned until 462, see PRISCUS, fr. 29 and HYD., *Chron.*, 216 ; see also THEODORUS LECTOR, *H.E.*, 393. Later sources, such as MALALAS (*Chron.*, 14) and ZONARAS (*Ann.*, 13.25), also claim that the women were returned at the end of the reign of Marcian. See F. M. CLOVER, "The Family and Early Career of Anicius Olybrius", *Historia*, 27 (1978), pp. 169-196.

which in the spring of 456 had shown some capability of dealing with the Vandals on its own (41). Avitus had sent the *comes* Ricimer against the Vandal raiders, and Ricimer had forestalled them both at Agrigentum in Sicily and off Corsica (42).

5. The Failure of Avitus in Italy

But, at the very time when Marcian was probably prepared to recognize Avitus, Avitus lost his hold on the western throne. In the early summer of 456 he was expelled from Rome by the Italian senators, whose enmity toward Avitus is mentioned by Gregory of Tours :

> 8) Gregory of Tours, *Historia Francorum*, 2.11.
> Avitus ... desiring to act excessively, was expelled by the senators and ordained bishop at the city of Placentia. When he learned, however, that the senate, still indignant, wished to take his life, he set out for the basilica of Saint Julian, the Arvernian martyr, with many offerings.

John of Antioch also notes that it was not a military revolution but civil disorder which forced Avitus to depart from Rome (43).

It appears that Avitus had antagonized the senators by his policy of appointing Gauls to the high offices of state, offices which the Italians themselves had been accustomed to hold. For example, his *magister officiorum* was Magnus of Narbo, and Avitus himself held

(41) It should be noted that none of the fifth-century campaigns against the Vandals were undertaken unilaterally by either the East or the West ; see accounts in Bury, I, pp. 254-255, 330-337.

(42) Agrigentum : Sid., *Carm.*, 2.367, "Agrigentini recolit dispendia campi". Corsica : Hyd., *Chron.*, 177 ; Hydatius implies that this victory of Ricimer is the same as that which he had already mentioned in *Chron.*, 176 (note 36 above) ; it may be, however, that the first account given by Hydatius refers to the victory at Sicily and only the second to that off Corsica. C. Courtois (*Les Vandales et l'Afrique* [Paris, 1955], p. 186) suggests that Ricimer's victory was a fabrication by Avitus ; for refutation, see A. Tranoy, *Sources chrétiennes*, 219, p. 106.

(43) Joh. Ant., fr. 202, "... this aroused the Romans, deprived of the ornamentation of the city, to revolt ... [Avitus], fearing both civil disorder and the hostilities of the Vandals, departed from Rome ...".

the consulate for 456 (44). Moreover, not a single Italian is known in a civil office under Avitus (45).

The negotiations of Avitus with Constantinople probably increased the antipathy of the Italians toward him, since his ambassador was probably Consentius, another Narbonese aristocrat (46). Consentius had already served on embassies to the East as a *tribunus et notarius* under Valentinian III, and Avitus had promoted him to the important office of *cura palatii* :

> 9) SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS, *Carmen*, 23.214-216, 228-232, 428-432.
> And then the court received you and the pious prince placed you immediately among the noteworthy tribunes held by the consistory ... Then, perhaps, if the emperor wished anything to come to the ears of his father-in-law in the East through a faithful and skilled interpreter, he immediately chose you as one learned in the carrying out of a bilingual exchange ... Then, when youth was over, as to how you showed yourself in later time, when, summoned to the court of my father-in-law, you controlled the care of the palace, I will speak in later writings if I have more time in the future (47).

(44) Magnus : SID. *Carm.*, 15.154-155, "ille magister / per Tartesiacas conspectus splenduit urbes", i.e. Magnus had been Avitus' diplomatic representative with the Visigoths in Spain (HYD., *Chron.*, 173 ff., "Hispanias rex Gothorum Theodoricus ... cum voluntate et ordinatione Aviti imperatoris ingreditur") ; see STEVENS, p. 44, n. 2, STROHEKER, p. 63 and #232. On Avitus' consulate, see notes 13-14 above.

(45) The only non-Gauls known in office under Avitus are Ricimer, a half Sueve and half Goth (SID., *Carm.*, 2.360-362) and Majorian, who may have been of Pannonian stock (SID., *Carm.*, 5.107-112).

(46) STROHEKER, #96, SUNDWALL #105. Consentius' father had married the daughter of a Iovinus who may be the Gallic usurper of 411-413 (SID., *Carm.*, 23.170.177).

(47) Sidonius, in fact, never does say anything further about Consentius' activities under Avitus, but this is only in keeping with Sidonius' policy of avoiding direct references to his own and his friends, involvement with the fallen usurper : for Sidonius' later treatment of Avitus, see R. MATHISEN, "Sidonius on the Reign of Avitus. A Study in Political Prudence," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 109 (1979), pp. 165-171 For Sidonius' opinion on Avitus' misfortunes, see *Ep.*, 2.13, ostensibly on Petronius Maximus. On the *cura palatii*, see JONES, 373 ; Aetius had held this office as ambassador to the Huns in 425-426 (GREG. TUR., *H.F.*, 2.8).

Avitus' appointment of Consentius is yet another example of his preference for Gauls in the central administration. And as to Consentius' diplomatic role, Sidonius stresses both his excellent knowledge of Greek and his diplomatic skills (48). For the delicate negotiations at Constantinople, Avitus would have wanted an ambassador who was both experienced and trustworthy. The Gaul Consentius was the logical choice.

But it was just this over-reliance on his countrymen, and the failure to integrate the Italian aristocracy into his regime, which contributed greatly to Avitus' fall. His expulsion from Rome by the Roman senators gave Majorian, who had imperial aspirations of his own, and Ricimer, commander of an Italian army whose confidence had been restored, their opportunity to pursue their own ambitions (49). Yet, it would appear that Avitus was less an inoffensive simpleton, as some have called him, than he was a product of his times (50). His own attitudes were no less provincial and parochial that the policies of those with whom he had to deal. The Italian aristocracy, Majorian and Ricimer could and did put their personal interests before the welfare of the state as a whole. Marcian, also, used Avitus as a pawn in his own diplomatic maneuvering, and withheld his recognition at a time when it could have contributed greatly to imperial unity (51). Even the Goths, Avitus' erstwhile supporters, were too busy extending their interests in Spain to respond to Avitus' urgent requests for aid in 456 (52). All

(48) SID., *Carm.*, 23.231-263 ; see P. COURCELLE, *Les lettres grecques en occident* (Paris, 1948), pp. 239-240.

(49) On Majorian's candidature for the throne in 455, see BURY, I, p. 323, STEIN, p. 540, and S. OOST, "Aetius and Majorian", *CP*, 59 (1964), pp. 23-29. For the rejuvenation of the Italian army in 456, see HODGKIN, p. 393, STEVENS, p. 37

(50) For Avitus' "childlike simplicity", see HODGKIN, p. 393 ; for him as "second-rate", see STEVENS, p. 33.

(51) No indication survives, in fact, that Marcian had any plans at all for the administration of the West, either by himself or by a colleague.

(52) Hydatius (*Chron.*, 177) reports that in 456 Avitus sent the *tribunus* Hesychius to Theoderic in Gallaecia in Spain to announce that "Avitum de Italia ad Gallias Arelate successisse". This would have been just before Avitus re-entered Italy and was defeated at Placentia ; clearly, the embassy would have included a request for troops. On Gothic expansion in Spain at this time, see E. A. THOMPSON, "The End of Roman Spain", *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 21 (1977), pp 3-6

of them, Romans and barbarians, Easterners and Westerners, Gauls and Italians, were attending strictly to their individual interests. The opportunity in 455 for Avitus to oversee a Gallo-Italo-barbarian coalition was more apparent than real (53). The special circumstances which had allowed Avitus to gain the throne soon passed and the established pattern reasserted itself. For the Italians, the Gallic emperor rapidly became a superfluous luxury.

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(53) For a more optimistic view of Avitus' potential, see HODGKIN, p. 395, "he was the keystone of a great and important political combination, a combination which, had it endured, would certainly have changed the face of Europe ...", and W. BAYLESS, "The Peace of 439 A.D. : Avitus and the Visigoths," *The Ancient World* 1 (1978), pp. 141-143, for a similar lament.

'O MICHAELES, MICHAELES ...' A PROBLEM OF IDENTIFICATION IN LIUTPRAND'S *LEGATIO*

As every Byzantinist knows, Liutprand, Bishop of Cremona made two visits to Constantinople in the second half of the tenth century. The first, in September 949, was to the court of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos ; the second, in 968, to that of the Emperor Nikephoros II Phokas. The second embassy forms the subject of Liutprand's *Relatio de Legatione constantinopolitana* and it is with the very last lines of this text that this note is concerned (1).

After a summer spent in fruitless negotiations with the Byzantines, under conditions which amounted to house arrest, Liutprand left Constantinople in October, 968, to begin his journey back to his Ottonian employers. By December he had left the Island of Levkas and had reached Corfù (2). Here he was entertained by a certain *strategos*, Michael Chersonites, a man, we are told '... with white hair, a jolly face (*facie hilaris*) stimulating conversation and always smiling, though, as afterwards emerged, with the mind of a devil' (3).

(1) *Liutprandi Relatio de Legatione Constantinopolitana*, ed. J. Becker (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, iii, 2nd ed. Hanover-Leipzig, 1915), pp. 175-212. See p. 212, Eng. trans. by F. A. WRIGHT, *The Works of Liutprand of Cremona* (1930), pp. 235-77, cf. p. 277. Mr. A. B. Scott of the Queen's University, Belfast, is preparing a new edition of this text with commentary. All references here are to the *MGH* edition.

(2) *Legatio*, lxiii, p. 211. Levkas is one of the Ionian islands. L. reached Corfù on 18th December, 968.

(3) The identity of the *strategos* Michael has not been safely established. Liutprand related that he derived his surname from the region of Cherson (S. Crimea), but does not make it clear whether this was his place of birth, or whether he had one been a *strategos* in the area. Cherson is first mentioned as a theme c. 833 : see N. OIKONOMIDÈS, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IXe et Xe siècles* (Paris, 1972), p. 353. Another possibility is that Michael was, or had been

Liutprand was delayed for some days in Corfù and seems to have been smarting over the unfortunate episode in Constantinople when the imperial customs officials had confiscated the silken cloths (which he maintained the Emperor had given him permission to take home for his church) on the grounds that they were *κωλυόμενα* – 'forbidden exports'. His baggage was again searched as he left Corfù (4).

It is at this point in the narrative that Liutprand breaks into a tirade against the various Michaels he had encountered on his journey. Two of them are easy to identify : the first was his *custos*, the warden of the hostel for foreigners (*apokrisarikion*) at which he had been forced to stay in Constantinople and who had kept a repressive eye upon his western guest (5) ; the second, his *diasostes* – the imperial courier who escorted him from Constantinople (6). Then Liutprand moves on to a fresh target :

> Let me pass from these lesser Michaels to you, great Michael, semi-hermit, semi-monk (*semiheremitam, semimonacum*). I say, and I say truly, that the 'bath-water' (*balneum*) which you drink for love of John the Baptist will do you no good. Those who falsely seek God, deserve never to find Him (7).

strategos of the theme of Cephallenia, which included Corfù (see Oikonomidès, *op. cit.*, p. 351). Liutprand describes him as a man *canus capite* ('white-haired') so he may well have been a retired army officer who had retained his rank, as is still the practice today.

(4) *Legatio*, lxv, p. 212. For Liutprand's previous brush with the customs officials *loc. cit.*, liii and R. S. Lopez, 'The Silk Industry in the Byzantine Empire', *Speculum*, XX (1945), 1-46. For the customs, see H. Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Recherches sur les Douanes à Byzance* (Paris, 1963), esp. pp. 52-3 and n. 7.

(5) *Legatio*, i, p. 176. Liutprand was housed in the *apokrisarikion*, so the first Michael was the *kourator* of this institution. For this office see Oikonomidès, *op. cit.*, p. 312. He is referred to again in *Legatio*, xiii as *custos immo persecutor*, when Liutprand asked him to deliver a letter to the *kouropalates* and *logothethes* Leo, a high-ranking court official.

(6) The *diasostes* Michael is also mentioned in *Legatio*, lvii, p. 161.

(7) It is worth citing this passage in the original as there are points of style which deserve comment. *Sed ab his parvulis Michaelibus impegi in te Michaelem magnum semiheremitam, semimonachum. Dico, et verum dico : non proderit balneum, quo te assidue potas in amore beati Iohannis praecursoris. Qui enim ficte Deum quaerunt, numquam invenire merentur...*

Here, the Trier manuscript upon which the *MGH* edition was based (*via* the edition of Carisius in 1600) breaks off. The manuscript was, to Becker's knowledge, the only one containing the *Legatio* and has since been lost (8).

The problem is, of course, to identify the 'great Michael'. Various opinions have been put forward. Because Liutprand addresses this Michael in the second person singular – '*impegi in te Michaelem magnum*' – some scholars, including the English translator of the work, F. A. Wright, have assumed that he was merely referring to Michael Chersonites, mentioned a few lines previously (9). But it seems unlikely that the jolly *strategos* could, by any stretch of the imagination, be described as 'half a hermit, half a monk'. Gustave Schlumberger, obviously struck by the ecclesiastical connotations of the remark, felt that Liutprand might have been referring to the Archangel Michael (10). But we cannot, surely, agree that Liutprand's sufferings had turned his brain to the extent that he was prepared to impugn the archangels.

There is, however, another possible Michael great enough to have been mentioned as the epitome of all things distastefully Byzantine, especially in the religious sphere. This was St. Michael Maleïnos, born c. 920-4, the uncle of the Emperor Nikephoros Phokas and a member of the important Anatolian clan comprising the Phokas and Maleïnos families. Michael Maleïnos is well represented in the literature of the late tenth century. We possess a life written by a disciple, Theophanes, who had lived with him for forty years ; an *epitaphion* by the tenth-century poet John Geometres ; an office for the day on which his festival was celebrated contained in a fifteenth-century Athonite manuscript (*Cod. Panteleimon 706*) and a brief mention in Scylitzes' *Chronicle* (11).

(8) See BECKER'S *Introduction*, p. XXXIII and M. MANITIUS, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, III. Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, IX, ii, Munich, 1931), pp. 166-75.

(9) WRIGHT, *op. cit.*, p. 277.

(10) G. SCHLUMBERGER, *Un empereur byzantin au dixième siècle : Nicéphore Phocas* (Paris, 1890).

(11) The *Life* and the *Office* were edited by L. PETIT, 'Vie de Saint Michel Maleïnos', *ROC*, VII (1902), 543-94. See pp. 585-7 for a family tree of the Phokas-Maleïnos family and a discussion of their influence. For the *epitaphion* of John

How far does Michael Maleïnos fill the bill ? The crucial phrase is that of '*semimonachum, semiheremitam*'. This exactly sums up the kind of religious life which Michael and his more famous *protégé*, St. Athanasios of Athos, promoted. It was, in its early stages semi-monastic, certainly as far as western eyes were concerned. Large coenobitic establishments were not favoured by Michael (12), though he spent some time in a monastery on Mount Kymina in Bithynia and even gave up his patrimony 'for no other reason than to extend that worthy and holy house' (13). But he later moved away to spend at least five years wandering in the mountains of Bithynia before founding the *lavra* which afterwards bore his name (14). The *lavra* style of religious life cannot be equated with what Liutprand would have understood by monastic. The monks slept in separate cells, not in a communal dormitory ; they often gathered (as in Michael's case) only once a week to hear the Liturgy and to eat together. It is a way of life which might well have been described as 'semi-eremitic'. The emphasis was on solitary spiritual exercises rather than communal endeavour (15). The terms 'half a hermit, half a monk' could well have been applied to Michael, since his religious life would indeed have appeared to an outsider to be neither one thing nor the other.

The question of the 'bath-water' which the 'Great Michael' allegedly drank is an intriguing one. The German scholar, Köhler,

GEOMETRES, *loc. cit.*, p. 584. See also John SCYLITZES, *Synopsis Historiarum*, ed. J. Thurn (Berlin, 1973), p. 280.

(12) See the important article of D. PAPACHRYSSANTHOU, 'La vie monastique dans les campagnes byzantines du VIIe au XIe siècles', *REB*, XLIII (1973), 158-82, which exploded the long-held myth that Byzantine monasticism progressed 'chronologically from the lavriote to the coenobitic style' (my trans.). The eighth to the eleventh centuries were, in fact, characterised by an amalgamation of monastic styles ; hermits lived in a loose relationship with coenobitic communities; the *hegoumenoi* of houses which were clearly *koinobia* often lived a solitary life outside them. I deal with this subject in greater detail in *The Byzantine Church and the Land in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries* (unpublished D. Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1979), c. 2.

(13) *Vie de Saint Michel Maleïnos*, c. 11, p 557.

(14) *Op. cit.*, c. 15, p. 560.

(15) PAPACHRYSSANTHOU, *op. cit.*, pp. 173-80. The 'semi-monastic, semi-eremitic' life was practised in the tenth and eleventh centuries by such celebrated figures as Athanasios, the founder of the Great Lavra on Mount Athos and St. Christodoulos the founder of the monastic community on Patmos.

concluded that the *balneum* referred to was, in fact the Roman *calda* (16). Ducange gives a series of references for this word and it is clear that the drink was composed of a mixture of wine, warm water and honey. It would thus conform with Liutprand's description of 'bath-water', being luke-warm, and would make the reference to John the Baptist rather more intelligible, since John was well known for his diet of locusts and honey (17). In any case, the identification with *retsina* made by some scholars seems most unlikely. If by *balneum* we are to understand *calda*, it would be a drink ideally suited to those pretending to an ascetic frame of mind. What is more, we are told earlier in the *Legatio* that Nikephoros Phokas himself drank this potion rather than undiluted wine. He, too, led an ascetic life and had at one time intended to become a monk under the guidance of his spiritual father, Athanasios of Athos (18). Liutprand could thus have been referring to habits prevalent at court and followed by the Emperor himself. Needless to say, the hagiography of Michael Maleïnos emphasises the saint's frugality, abstinence and simplicity of life ; common *topoi* in sources of this kind (19).

But there is one major problem in suggesting Michael Maleïnos as the 'Great Michael'. We know that Liutprand visited Constantinople in 949 and 968 and we also know the precise date of the death of Michael Maleïnos. It was the day upon which the Byzantine conquest of Crete was successfully concluded – 12th July 961 (20). Liutprand could not, therefore, have met him on his embassy to Nikephoros Phokas. One may suggest, however, that the cult of Michael Maleïnos was already well enough established by this time. Scylitzes tells us that the Emperor always slept with Michael's cowl (*pilon*) spread over his bed as a talisman against danger and had

(16) See *Legatio*, xli, p. 197 and n. 2. Liutprand also castigates the Byzantine bishops who live a life of ease 'guzzling rather than drinking' ('*non bibentes sed sorbillantes*') their *balneum*, *loc. cit.*, lxiii, p. 211.

(17) C. D. DUCANGE, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitais*, 6 vols. (Paris, 1840-6), s.v.

(18) *Legatio*, xl, p. 197. Athanasios' career is conveniently summarised in *Actes de Lavra*, I (*Archives de l'Athos*, V), edd. P. Lemerle, A. Guillou, N. Svoronos and D. Papachryssanthou (Paris, 1970), Introduction, pp. 30-48.

(19) *Vie de Saint Michel Maleïnos*, c. 25, p 568.

(20) See *Office of St. Michel Maleïnos*, ed. Petit, cf. *supra*, n. 11, pp. 569-83

stipulated that it was to be placed in his tomb when he died. As the forces of rebellion rose against Nikephoros in 969 he is reported to have slept on the floor for safety, wrapped in his uncle's bearskin cloak (21).

So whilst Liutprand could not have met Maleïnos in the flesh on this visit, there is a strong possibility that the cult of the Saint was already being celebrated in the Palace at Constantinople to the extent that Michael could be referred to as one considered '*magnus*'.

Another possibility is that Liutprand met or saw Michael Maleïnos on his previous visit to Constantinople in September, 949. Although there is no mention in the *Life of Michael Maleïnos* of the Saint being in the City at that time, there is evidence that he was in close touch with Constantine Porphyrogennetos. Theophanes, Michael's hagiographer, related a curious story which can be dated to the year 945. He tells of the unease at court at the time, clearly associated with Constantine's plans to emerge from the obscurity into which the usurper Romanos Lekapenos had forced him, with the aid, initially, of the latter's sons (22). A delegation of courtiers came to visit Michael in Bithynia to ask his advice on the way events would turn out. Michael related a dream in which he had been led into Haghia Sophia by a man in white, who had told him that all he desired would be granted. He was shown four small boxes on the altar, which were then carried out. These, Theophanes continues, clearly symbolised the coffins of Romanos Lekapenos and his sons. This vision was said to have encouraged Constantine to carry out his *coup*, which was, of course, successful (23). It is conceivable, then, that Michael, doubtless welcome in imperial circles as a consequence of his strong support for Constantine Porphyrogennetos (and, incidentally incurring the wrath of the Patriarch Theophylact, Romanos' son, in the course of so doing) (24), was present at court when Liutprand arrived in 949.

(21) SCYLITZES, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

(22) Liutprand himself tells of this *coup d'état* in *Antapodosis*, ed. Becker, *loc. cit.*, xxi-v, pp. 142-5. See also S. RUNCIMAN, *The Emperor Romanus Lacapenus and His Reign* (Cambridge, 1927), pp. 232-4.

(23) *Vie de Saint Michel Maleïnos*, c. 23, p. 565.

(24) *Loc. cit.*, c. 23, p. 566.

In present circumstances it is impossible to resolve the problem completely. Suffice it to say that Michael's influence was strong in the Palace at Constantinople both before and after his death ; that the use of the second person singular might just be the indication of a loss of temper, if not downright rudeness on Liutprand's part and, certainly, that we must look beyond any of the Michael's already mentioned in the *Legatio* for the identity of the man who was '*magnus*', '*semiheremitam*' and '*semimonachum*'.

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THE PAINTING OF THE ANASTASIS IN THE LOWER CHURCH OF SAN CLEMENTE, ROME : A RE-EXAMINATION OF THE EVIDENCE FOR THE LOCATION OF THE TOMB OF ST. CYRIL

Among the many churches in the city of Rome which preserve traces of their early medieval painted decorations, the lower church of San Clemente holds an important position because of both the quantity of surviving painting which it contains and the well-preserved state of much of this material. These murals were brought to light in the years 1858-1868 when the lower church was excavated by the Dominican prior of San Clemente, Joseph Mullooly [1]. A secure *terminus ante quem* of *circa* A.D. 1100 for all

Abbreviations used in the notes

ActaIRNorv	Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam pertinentia, Institutum Romanum Norvegiae
AnalBoll	Analecta Bollandiana
BACr	Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers
JbKSWien	Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien
MélRome	Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire, École Française de Rome
PG	Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Graeca, ed. J. Migne
PL	Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Latina, ed. J. Migne
RACr	Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana
REB	Revue des Études Byzantines
RIASA	Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte
RMM	J. Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV bis zum XIII. Jahrhundert*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1917.
RQ	Romische Quartalschrift

(1) For a detailed account of the excavation see Leonard Boyle, *San Clemente Miscellany I : The Community of SS. Sisto e Clemento in Rome 1677-1977*, Rome, 1977, 171-208.

the material in the lower church is established by the construction of the present basilica in the first quarter of the twelfth century. Since their discovery, the San Clemente paintings have figured prominently in all discussions of early medieval art in central Italy. It is somewhat surprising, therefore, to discover that one of the most enigmatic of these murals, the second of two versions of the Byzantine theme of the Anastasis, has not yet received the detailed scholarly examination which it so richly deserves. The present paper is offered as an attempt to rectify this oversight (2).

The painting of the Anastasis is located on the nave side of a short wall which divided the nave from the right aisle at the apsital end of the church. There is no evidence of any other painting on this wall, so it may be presumed that the panel stood alone and did not form part of a larger cycle. Large areas of the composition are missing at the top and on the right-hand side, but enough remains of a white border line to indicate that the original work was shaped in the form of a lunette (pl. I). This can be clearly seen at the top and at the left. The surface of the painting is very uneven due to the apparently irregular application of plaster. This variation in thickness is particularly noticeable at the right where the entire panel protrudes significantly from the wall.

The central figure is Christ, who is depicted moving from left to right. His body is surrounded by a mandorla composed of concentric bands of colour. The outermost, with a red outline, is yellowish green, while the interior is blue. The mandorla is decorated with a number of rosette designs consisting of six or seven white dots around a central dot. The entire structure with its encompassed figure inclines towards the right. Christ is dressed in a full-length sleeved tunic. It is colored blue and is decorated with two pairs of vertical red stripes which are visible at the bottom, and two horizontal red stripes on the sleeve just below the shoulder. Over this he wears an ochre *paenula* which is decorated in places with groups of three short red stripes. The folds are indicated in a purely arbitrary and haphazard manner. The face does not conform to any

(2) This paper is based on one chapter of the author's doctoral thesis, *Early mediaeval wall-paintings in the lower church of San Clemente, Rome*, University of London, 1979.

of the conventional patterns for the depiction of Christ. It consists of a large oval, and there is little indication of hair. He is beardless, and the facial details are roughly sketched with red, black, and yellow strokes. Around his head is an ochre halo outlined in red. With his right hand Christ reaches forward and securely grasps the limp wrist of a figure who must be identified as Adam. His left arm crosses beneath the right in an awkward manner, and with it he holds a long red cross. He wears sandals and is shown poised on the toes of his right foot, while the left firmly treads on the legs of a small naked demon. The demon, who is the personification of Hell, is black with bright red hair, and he turns his head back to look upwards at Christ while at the same time grabbing Adam's foot with his right hand. The fires of Hell are visible behind.

Adam is depicted with long shoulder-length hair and a beard, and, like Christ, he is dressed in a full-length blue tunic with red vertical stripes, although it lacks the horizontal stripes on the sleeve. His *paenula* is light brown and has three red stripes. Only the forward foot remains. His right hand hangs limp in Christ's grasp, while the left is extended in a horizontal gesture at the level of his waist. In the blue zone between Adam and Christ are what appear to be skulls and bones painted white. The presence of an additional figure in the destroyed lower right corner is indicated by three fingers of a hand which are visible on Adam's sleeve. This is likely to have been Eve, who is normally depicted with Adam in representations of this theme.

To the left of Christ, and partially obscured by his billowing cloak, is a free-standing column with spiral fluting. A red cloth is twisted around it at the top. To the left of the column and below the cloth is the half-length figure of a man dressed in blue (pl. II). His garment is decorated with occasional clusters of four white dots arranged in the shape of a cross. His right hand is raised from the wrist, palm outwards, with the fingers extended and slightly apart. His left hand, covered by drapery, holds a large and elaborately decorated codex. The elongated head is viewed frontally and is framed by a square "halo" of pale green with protruding red sides. Apart from a beard and a moustache there is no visible hair, as the top of the head and the shoulders are covered by a curious headdress. It is white and is decorated with red geometric designs on both sides. The head itself is large in proportion to Christ's head, but

both the raised hand and the book are immense, the latter being considerably larger than the head.

The area above the square "halo" has been defaced by the addition of coarse reddish plaster at some later date. This can be clearly seen where it spills over onto the painted column. The original background colour in this zone was green, and it possibly included an inscription in white letters since there is a noticeable stroke of white paint which survives near the left border. There was also another inscription at the top left of the panel, between the column and the mandorla, of which only a fragment remains (pl. III). In addition to the symbol for an abbreviation and most of the final letter 'C', the two horizontal top strokes of what appear to be an additional letter or letters are barely discernible. It seems quite likely that this would have been the Greek letter 'chi', which, when taken together with the 'sigma', would form the abbreviation for Christ ('XC'). Joseph Wilpert's 1917 illustration of the painting (*RMM*, pl. 229, 2) includes portions of the preceding letters 'IC', which one would expect to find in this position, but no trace of them remains today. Again, the localized nature of the obliteration suggests that it may have been deliberate.

This mural, uncovered in the spring of 1868, was the last to be discovered in the lower church (3). A brief description, but no illustration, was published by Mullooly in the following year (4).

The descent of Christ into the underworld, an event which is supposed to have taken place between the Crucifixion and Easter morning, is not mentioned in the Biblical accounts of the passion, although it does find a strong theological basis in Old Testament references to the doctrine of redemption. The concept of the Descent into Hades as an independent event arose when the early church was faced with the controversial problem of the salvation of those just men who had died before the coming of Christ. It was postulated that he descended into the underworld and preached to them. Thus they too were offered the chance of salvation, and those

(3) BOYLE, *San Clemente Miscellany*, i, 204. See also "The last fresco of St. Clemente", *The Tablet*, 20 June 1868

(4) Joseph MULLOOLY, *Saint Clement Pope and Martyr and his Basilica in Rome*. Rome, 1869, 215-216. The first illustration appears in Th. ROLLER, *Saint-Clément de Rome*, Paris, 1873.

who accepted were raised up to heaven. Many of the elements which later appear in the visual representations of this belief, for example the personification of Hades or the use of Adam and Eve to represent all of mankind, are already present in the early patristic texts (5). However, the principal source for the event is the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus, or, as it is sometimes called, the *Acta Pilati*. This is a comparatively late compilation which is thought to have appeared only in the seventh century, and at first the episode known as the Harrowing of Hell was present only in the Latin version (6). It describes in considerable detail the triumphant entry of Christ into the underworld, the trampling underfoot of Satan, and the elevation of the just symbolized by Adam and Eve.

The late origin of the textual source is paralleled by the late entry of the event into the context of Christian art. It is not to be found in early Christian monuments, and the suggestion by Baumstark that it was represented in a mosaic in Constantine's church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem remains entirely without proof (7). Its absence from the depictions on the Monza and Bobbio pilgrim ampullae tends to confirm this scepticism.

In Byzantine art the Anastasis is not usually found before the ninth century when it appears among the miniatures of the Chludov Psalter (Moscow, State Historical Museum, *ms. Add. gr.* 129, fols. 63r and 63v), and also in the paintings from the so-called "Archaic" group of churches in Cappadocia, for example Tokali Kilise and El Nazar (Göreme chapel 1) (8). In Constantinople itself, it is known to have been included in the decorative scheme of the church built towards the end of the ninth century by Stylianos Zaoutzas (9). The theme must have existed for some time before the restoration of images at the end of the period of iconoclasm since it is recorded as

(5) See Jeanne VILLETTE, *La Résurrection du Christ dans l'Art Chrétien du IIe au VIIe siècle*, Paris, 1957, 93-96, and Anton de Waal, "Die Apokryphen Evangelien in der altchristlichen Kunst", *RQ*, 1 (1887), 173-196.

(6) H. C. KIM, *The Gospel of Nicodemus*, Toronto, 1973, 1-2.

(7) A. BAUMSTARK, "Palaestinensia. Ein vorlaufiger Bericht", *RQ*, 20 (1906), 125.

(8) Marcell RESTLE, *Die byzantinische Wandmalereien in Kleinasien* (Recklinghausen, 1967, ii, figs. 20 and 95.

(9) Cyril MANGO, *The art of the Byzantine Empire, 312-1453. Sources and Documents*, Englewood Cliffs, 1972, 205.

an artistic subject in an eighth-century source, the *Oratio adversus Constantium Cabalinum* of the iconophile apologist St. John Damascene (10). However, since no eastern examples survive from before the ninth century, any discussion of the introduction of the subject into Byzantine art must remain speculative.

The issue is complicated by the existence of two as yet undated examples: the Fieschi-Morgan staurothek in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, and the pectoral cross from Pieve di Vicopisano. These illustrate various Christological scenes such as the Annunciation, the Nativity, and the Crucifixion, and both include an Anastasis which contains most of the features to be found in the later Byzantine examples: Christ trampling on a demon, Adam and Eve, the shattered gates of Hell, and the two Old Testament kings David and Solomon. A recent study of the two crosses by Elisabetta Lucchesi Palli has suggested that they are both examples of syro-palestinian art to be dated *circa* 600 A.D. This is based on a variety of stylistic and iconographic comparisons to other works of this period such as the Rabula Gospels, the Monza ampullae, and another reliquary cross in the Museum of Art of the Rhode Island School of Design (11). If this hypothesis were to be accepted, then much of the mystery surrounding the origin of the theme would be clarified, but for the moment this early dating must remain conjectural. It is perhaps worth noting that none of the comparisons cited contains an Anastasis, and that the earliest version to be found among the Sinai icons has been dated by Kurt Weitzmann to the tenth century (12). A third pectoral cross with an Anastasis that is identical to the Fieschi-Morgan staurothek was discovered at Pliska in Bulgaria in 1973, and a ninth or tenth century date has been assigned to it by Ludmila Dontcheva (13).

It is in the art of western Europe, and more precisely of the city of Rome, that the earliest securely-dated examples of the theme are to

(10) MIGNE, *PG*, 95, col. 316.

(11) E. LUCCHESI PALLI, "Der syrische-palastinensische Darstellungstypus der Hollenfahrt Christi", *RQ*, 57 (1962), 250-267

(12) Kurt WEITZMANN, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai. The Icons. Volume One · From the Sixth to the Tenth Century*, Princeton, 1976, 88-91.

(13) Ludmila DONTCHEVA, "Une croix pectorale-reliquaire en or récemment trouvée à Pliska", *Cahiers Archéologiques*, 25 (1976), 59-66.

be found. This is perhaps not so surprising when one remembers that the textual accounts of the event also made their first appearance in the west, probably in the seventh century. Certainly by the early years of the eighth century the Anastasis iconography was firmly established in Roman art.

The earliest known examples are two surviving wall-paintings in the church of S. Maria Antiqua which have been dated to the pontificate of John VII (705-707 A.D.), and the mosaic which the same pope is known to have erected in the oratory which he built in St. Peter's.

The first of the two paintings is to be found on the right wall of the doorway which leads from the left aisle of the church to the Palatine ramp (WILPERT, *RMM*, pl. 168, 2). Here Christ is depicted enclosed in a mandorla and moving to the left. In his left hand he holds a scroll, and with his right he steps on the head of a small demon. Adam is depicted as emerging from a sarcophagus, and behind him is the figure of Eve who raises her left hand to Christ in a gesture of adoration. The remnants of some additional figures are visible in the upper left corner and also at the far right, but the condition of the panel does not permit their identification (14). The second and more fragmentary example occurs on the façade of the Oratory of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste. It portrays an almost identical scene with Christ once again moving to the left and stepping on the head of a devil (WILPERT, *RMM*, pl. 167, 1). Both paintings have been ascribed to the time of John VII by Nordhagen on the basis of archaeological evidence as well as stylistic and palaeographic considerations (15).

The development of the Anastasis iconography cannot be explained solely on the basis of apocryphal accounts. The arrangement of the figures in the composition is largely borrowed from two examples of imperial Roman iconography : the triumphant emperor trampling on his enemy, and the emperor *restitutor* redeeming the fallen (16). In the Anastasis these two have been

(14) For a complete description see Per Jonas NORDHAGEN, "The Frescoes of John VII in S. Maria Antiqua in Rome", *ActaIRNorv*, 3 (1968), 80-82.

(15) P. J. NORDHAGEN, "The earliest decorations in Santa Maria Antiqua and their date", *ActaIRNorv*, 1 (1962), 53-72, esp. 70-71.

(16) André GRABAR, *L'Empereur dans l'Art Byzantin*, Paris, 1936, 246-249, and *Christian Iconography, a Study of its Origins*, Princeton, 1968, 126

amalgamated into one scene. The figure of Hades is the trampled enemy, and the emperor's spear will in later examples be replaced by a cross. Similarly, Adam and Eve have taken the place of the personifications of liberated cities or provinces who are often shown on Roman coins raising both hands in a gesture of supplication [17].

The Anastasis mosaic from the Oratory of John VII in St. Peter's is known only through the seventeenth-century drawings of Jacopo Grimaldi, since no portions of this scene are to be found among the surviving fragments [18]. Grimaldi's sketch gives only the barest of details, but it does show Christ moving to the left and extending his arm towards Adam. There is a demon underfoot. Apparently it did not merit a panel of its own but was located in the lower right-hand corner of the Crucifixion.

The theme must have remained popular in Rome, since there are a number of surviving examples from the eighth and ninth centuries. The best known of these is the mosaic in the San Zeno chapel of S. Prassede, which may be dated to the pontificate of pope Paschal I (817-824) [19]. Although only the upper portion of the panel survives, one can easily distinguish the figure of Christ in a blue mandorla reaching towards Adam and Eve. To his left are the two Old Testament kings David and Solomon, mentioned in the Gospel of Nicodemus passage, who appear here for the first time in Roman versions of the Anastasis theme. It is impossible to determine whether the personification of Hades was included in the original composition. A second example is the painted fragment from the underground oratory beneath the church of SS. Giovanni e

(17) The iconography was popular on coins until the fifth century, see GRABAR, *L'Empereur*, 248 and pl xxix. The theological implications of the 'proskynesis' of Adam and Eve have been examined by Anthony CUTLER, *Transfigurations. Studies in the Dynamics of Byzantine Iconography*, Pennsylvania State Univ., 1975, 100-110.

(18) Rome, Archivio di S Pietro, Album, fol. 32. The drawing is reproduced by S. WAETZOLDT, *Die Kopien des 17. Jahrdunderts nach Mosaiken und Wandmalereien in Rom*, Vienna, 1964, pl. 478.

(19) The iconography of this mosaic and its place in the Anastasis tradition has been examined by Caecilia DAVIS-WEYER, "Die altesten Darstellungen der Hadesfahrt Christi, des Evangelium Nikodemi und ein Mosaik der Zeno-Kapelle", *Rome e l'Età Carolingia*, Rome, 1976, 183-194.

Paolo, discovered by Fr. Germano di S. Stanislao in 1887 (20). Here the Anastasis (WILPERT, *RMM*, pl. 208, 2) is included in a cycle of the passion of Christ. Although no secure date has as yet been ascribed to the group, they do seem to fall into the general context of the late eighth or the first half of the ninth century. The depiction of the Crucifixion, for example, follows the *colobium* type, one of the last Italian examples of this theme to do so. The Anastasis painting, which has almost completely faded, shows Christ surrounded by a mandorla and moving towards the right. His right arm is extended. Although no other elements of the composition have survived, the fact that it forms part of a passion cycle and the similarity of the figure of Christ to the S. Prassede mosaic leave little doubt as to the identification of the scene.

A third example survives in San Clemente itself, on a pier at the narthex end of the nave. Again it is included in a cycle of passion scenes, and these may be securely dated to the pontificate of Leo IV (847-855) who appears in the adjoining depiction of the Ascension. Here only a limited version of the Anastasis theme is portrayed. Apart from Christ, the only other figures to be shown are Adam and Eve.

A late-ninth-century example is known to have been painted in Old St. Peter's during the pontificate of Formosus (891-896), but it perished with the church and its existence is once again known only through a drawing by Grimaldi (21). From approximately the same period, and presenting close iconographic similarities to the Roman examples, is the Anastasis mural from the Basilica dei SS. Martiri at Cimitile near Naples (22). Once again Christ moves to the right and grasps Adam's wrist with his right hand. His right foot is back, and his left treads on the figure of Hades. Above Adam is Eve, who extends both arms to Christ in supplication, and at the far left four mummified figures are seen rising out of a tomb.

(20) Germano di S. STANISLAO, *La Casa Celimontana dei SS Martiri Giovanni e Paolo*, Rome, 1894, 436-438 and pl 77.

(21) *Bib. Vaticana, cod. Barb. lat.*, 2733, fol. 113v-114r (reproduced by WAETZOLDT, *Kopien*, pl. 485a).

(22) Hans BELTING, *Die Basilica dei SS. Martiri in Cimitile und ihr frühmittelalterliche Freskenzyklus*, Wiesbaden, 1962, 70-76.

It is readily apparent that the second of the two representations of the Anastasis in San Clemente falls within the scope of a tradition already well-established in Roman art. In some respects, however, it is very different from the other examples which have been cited. The space to the left of Christ, which one would expect to be occupied either by resurrected bodies or by the Old Testament kings David and Solomon, now contains a single figure. Apparently he does not belong to the episode itself, but instead is a detached observer. This is emphasized by the column which separates him both physically and psychologically from the main portion of the panel. In the early Roman examples, or at least in those which have survived, the two functions of Christ, as *victor* and *restitutor*, had always been kept distinctly apart. Indeed, the trampling of the figure of Hades was not always included in the scene, as for example in the San Clemente mural from the time of Leo IV. In this second version, however, a new psychological emphasis appears for the first time which successfully combines the two roles into a single unified image. Christ treads on Hades and grasps Adam's wrist as in the earlier examples. But although the demon looks up fearfully, he nevertheless makes a determined effort to restrain Adam by the foot. This is the first example in which there is any sort of contact between Adam and the demon. Both visually and thematically it serves to combine the two elements of the composition, and thus it presents a more satisfactory solution to what is essentially a formal problem.

The artist has also made one important change in the iconography. The scroll which Christ carries in S. Maria Antiqua, in the S. Prassede mosaic, in the Leo IV mural in San Clemente, at Cimitile, and even in the Chludov Psalter, is here replaced for the first time by a long cross (23) In the earliest paintings from Cappadocia, for example at El Nazar or Tokali Kilise, Christ carries neither scroll nor cross, and Guillaume de Jerphanion has ascribed the introduction of the latter to the church of St. Barbara at

(23) This was noted independently by C. R. MOREY, "Notes on East Christian Miniatures", *Art Bulletin*, 11 (1929), 5-103, esp. 58; and Guillaume DE JERPHANION, "Le Rôle de la Syrie et de l'Asie mineure dans la formation de l'iconographie chrétienne", *La Voix des Monuments*, Paris, 1930, 201-249, esp. 237

Soğanli (24). This development will become standard practice in the middle Byzantine versions of the scene, for example the mosaics at Dafni or Hosios Loukas, but in the San Clemente painting the awkward positioning of the left hand suggests that the artist was not overly familiar with this new concept and that he experienced some difficulty in translating it into visual terms. It is impossible to say what might have prompted the introduction of this motif, and San Clemente seems an unlikely spot for this change to have occurred. It is more reasonable to think that the painting reflects an innovation in Anastasis iconography which had taken place elsewhere, but of which San Clemente is the earliest surviving example. Possibly it copies a new version of the event in the church of the Anastasis in Jerusalem, where the cupola of the Resurrection was restored *circa* A.D. 815 by the patriarch Thomas (25). However, given the subsequent history and wide dissemination of this type, the most probable location for this development would be Constantinople. There is also one other indication that the iconography may have been inspired by Byzantine models. The use of the Greek abbreviation IC XC, uncommon in Rome at this time, may be found in exactly the same location, to the upper left of the mandorla, in the Anastasis painting from El Nazar in Cappadocia.

Thus it would appear that the San Clemente panel presents a somewhat advanced stage in the development of the Anastasis iconography. In terms of chronology this would certainly suggest that it should be dated later than the Leo IV version at the other end of the nave. Although the Anastasis painting at Cimitile still retains a scroll, this was a remote site removed from the main artistic currents active in the second half of the ninth century. A far more important example for comparison would be the cycle of decorations commissioned by pope Formosus for Old St. Peter's, but unfortunately Grimaldi's sketch supplies only the barest of details. It is worth noting, however, that he does depict Christ as carrying a cross and not a scroll.

One of the most unusual aspects of the San Clemente painting is the presence of what has usually been presumed to be the donor of

(24) JERPHANION, *ibid.*, 237, note 3. A dedicatory inscription in the church permits the dates of 1006 and 1021.

(25) John WILKINSON, *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, Warminster, 1977, 175.

the work, separated from the central section of the composition by the freestanding fluted column. The identification of this figure has been the subject of various interpretations. In 1869 he was described by Mullooly as "a venerable ecclesiastic of oriental type" (26). Orazio Marucchi, writing at the end of the nineteenth century, believed that it was the portrait of a pope (27), and Guillaume de Jerphanion that it represented the prophet Isaiah (28). However, the general consensus of opinion has fallen behind Joseph Wilpert's suggestion that it is a monk, possibly the abbot of San Clemente monastery (29). Not unnaturally, this is based on the assumption that there was a monastic community attached to the church at this time, but there is no evidence to support such a belief. It would appear that until the end of the Middle Ages San Clemente was nothing more than a parish church. It acquired a monastery only in the early fifteenth century when it was given by pope Eugenius IV to a newly-founded order known as the Frati di S. Ambrogio (30).

Because the man in question is shown holding a decorated codex, probably a manuscript of the gospels, it seems reasonable to suppose that he is a religious and not a lay figure. However, the long blue garment and the white head-covering which also falls across his shoulders are unique in portrayals of Roman clerics, as are the wearing of a beard and moustache. For these reasons Carlo Cecchelli was also convinced that the figure was a monk (31).

An alternative suggestion has been offered by Hans Belting who discovered parallels for the unusual headdress in the mosaic figures of the Alexandrian patriarch Cyril and the Constantinopolitan patriarch Methodios from the north tympanum of St. Sophia in

(26) MULLOOLY, *Saint Clement Pope and Martyr*, 216. In the second edition of the book (Rome, 1873, 308) he adds the comment: "If we do not very much mistake, this figure represents Methodius, the brother of St. Cyril".

(27) O. MARUCCHI, *Basiliques et Églises de Rome*, Paris, 1902, 298

(28) JERPHANION, "Le Rôle de la Syrie", 237, note 4.

(29) J. WILPERT, "Le pitture della basilica primitiva di S. Clemente", *MélRome*, 26 (1906), 251-303, esp. 292, 302.

(30) BOYLE, *San Clemente Miscellany*, i, 6-8.

(31) C. CECCHELLI, *San Clemente*, Rome n.d., 153. More recently he has identified the head-covering as a "masnaphta", a kind of amice worn by some eastern bishops and abbots in Syria, see *La Vita di Roma nel Medio Evo*, i, 2, Rome, 1960, 1009.

Constantinople (32). These mosaics are known from a series of drawings and a watercolour made by the Swiss architects Gaspare and Giuseppe Fossati, who were responsible for restorations to the church in the years 1847-1849 (33). The portrait of Methodios depicts him as wearing a close-fitting hood which is tied beneath his chin. According to Cyril Mango, this was actually a bandage which the patriarch found it necessary to wear after his jaws were broken and his teeth pulled out in one of the emperor Theophilus' persecutions of iconophiles. A second portrait of Methodios in St. Sophia, in the room over the south-west vestibule, also depicts him with a head-covering, although in this instance there is no trace of any decoration. The head is not, however, complete (34). Subsequent patriarchs are said to have maintained the tradition.

The wearing of a close-fitting hood was also practised by the patriarchs of Alexandria, a custom whose origin was considered to date from the time of Cyril (35). Apart from the portrait of Cyril in St. Sophia, two depictions of the Alexandrian patriarch Athanasius – one in an icon from Mount Sinai (36), the other in the Milan manuscript of the *Homilies* of Gregory of Nazianzus (*Bibl. Ambrosiana, cod.* 49-50) (37) – also show his head covered in this fashion.

The similarity between these patriarchal hoods and the one which is worn in San Clemente lies primarily in their use of decoration. Methodios' headgear in the lost tympanum mosaic has in the centre of the forehead a small red cross which is flanked by four dots. This seems to indicate that it has a greater significance than merely a medical bandage, and the hood of the patriarch Cyril is decorated in a similar fashion. The Fossati notes indicate that the head coverings

(32) Hans BELTING, *Studien zur beneventanischen Malerei*, Wiesbaden, 1968, 239, note 24

(33) Cyril MANGO, *Materials for the Study of the Mosaics of St Sophia at Istanbul* (Dumbarton Oaks, 1962), 51-54, and pls. 61, 66, 67, 68, 74.

(34) See Robin CORMACK and Ernest HAWKINS, "The Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul . the rooms above the southwest vestibule and ramp", *DOP*, 31 (1977), 175-251, esp. 227 and pl. 40.

(35) See Christopher WALTER in *REB*, 35 (1977), 316-317.

(36) WEITZMANN, *Icons*, 48-49 (icon B 24).

(37) André GRABAR, *Les Miniatures du Grégoire de Nazianze de l'Ambrosienne*, Paris, 1943, pl. XXVII, 1

were white and green, although it is difficult to determine from the drawings precisely how the colours were divided (38). In San Clemente, where the hood does not cover as much of the forehead, it is entirely white. Moreover, in the painting there is not only a design on the forehead but also along the sides of the face and even on the shoulders, and clearly it does not tie beneath the chin. These decorations are composed of lines, circles, and dots which are grouped together in a variety of ways to form geometric motifs (pl. IV). In this respect they bear a remarkable similarity to the pallium worn by the baptizing bishop in the left aisle of San Clemente (WILPERT, *RMM*, pl. 216, 3), for which a ninth or tenth century date is suggested. The St. Sophia mosaics are also considered to have been executed in the second half of the ninth century.

It is not likely that the San Clemente figure is a patriarch since he lacks the other vestments which are indicative of this rank. However, in the eastern church decorated hoods were also worn by monks, for example the unidentified figure in the dedication page of the Rabula Gospels (fol. 14 r), or the large group pictured in the Milan Gregory (39). In his discussion of monastic *koukoullia*, patriarch Germanus of Constantinople alludes to the cross with which they are adorned (40).

The majority of the monastic figures to be found in early medieval Roman art are representations of St. Benedict or other members of his order, for example the wall-paintings in S. Crisogono, S. Ermete, and S. Sebastiano al Palatino. They are not usually depicted with beards and their hoods are not decorated. In addition, the shape of the hood is entirely different. It rises to a distinct point, whereas the patriarchal head-coverings and the one in San Clemente follow the contour of the head very closely. Only on rare occasions are eastern monks portrayed in Rome, as for example in the fragment from the underground oratory beneath San Saba, which was one of the largest of the Greek-speaking monastic communities in the city. Here the monks are bearded, and their hoods, although very plain and rising to a medium height, do have a decoration of four white dots which are arranged in the shape of a

(38) MANGO, *Materials*, pl. 74.
(39) GRABAR, *Miniatures du Grégoire de Nazianze*, pl. xii.
(40) MIGNE, *PG*, 98, col. 395.

cross in the middle of the forehead. In terms of shape and colour, however, they bear a closer resemblance to the Benedictine head-coverings. A somewhat similar piece of apparel is worn by the hermit St. Dometius in the Chapel of the Holy Physicians in S. Maria Antiqua (41). The purple-red hood is pointed and has two vertical white stripes on each side. Between each pair of stripes are decorations of four white dots arranged in the form of a cross.

A third example is provided by the Deesis mosaic over the entrance portal of the abbey church of S. Maria at Grottaferrata, 24 km outside Rome. This monastery was founded by St. Nilus of Calabria in 1004. To the left of the enthroned Christ is a diminutive figure who is presumably the donor of the panel, a bearded monk with a decorated head-covering. He is probably St. Bartholomew of Rossano who built the present church towards the middle of the eleventh century. The comparison with the figure in San Clemente is strengthened by his blue garment and the prominent geometric decorations on what is possibly an *omophorion*, although this is also blue and not the customary white. An almost identical vestment is worn by the witness to the Presentation in the Temple from chapel 11 at Göreme in Cappadocia (42).

It would appear, therefore, that while there is no direct parallel for the figure in the San Clemente Anastasis painting, the attributes of blue garment, beard, and decorated hood point to the general context of eastern monks. This identification will be adopted as a working hypothesis.

The second factor which must be taken into account in any attempt to identify the figure is the object with which his head is apparently framed. It is, as has been suggested, a form of square "nimbus", although Cecchelli commented that it bore a greater resemblance to the "porta di un sepolcro" (43). The square "halo" identification is confirmed by the colour scheme, which is identical to that of pope Leo IV at the other end of the nave. The square "halo" is an unusual motif which occurs frequently in the art of early medieval Rome and is usually associated with donor figures.

(41) NORDHAGEN, "Frescoes of John VII", pl. lxxvii.

(42) RESTLE, ii, pl. 150. He suggests a date in the late-tenth century for the paintings in this chapel.

(43) CECCHELLI, *San Clemente*, 153

The portrayals of pope John VII in S. Maria Antiqua and in the mosaic fragment which has survived from his oratory in St. Peter's are the earliest of the many examples which have survived in the city, but the *Vita* of pope Gregory I written by John the Deacon in the second half of the ninth century suggests that the practice may have been known in Rome by about the year 600 (44). Its ultimate origins lie in the east, in Egyptian funerary art, and it is in the same geographical area that its use first appears in a Christian context, with the two donor portrait medallions from the apse mosaic of the monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai providing the best documented examples. The meaning of the motif is provided by Gregory I's biographer. It indicated that the head was an accurate portrait, although this was to change significantly in later centuries. The primary difference between the rectangular nimbus on the figure in San Clemente and those of the Sinai donors or pope John VII lies in the attempt of the former to create an impression of three-dimensional depth by the addition of side panels of a different colour. The origin of this development may be traced to the second half of the eighth century when it occurs for apparently the first time in the portrayal of pope Hadrian I in S. Maria Antiqua (45). The same technique is also to be found in the lost mosaics of the Lateran triclinium and S. Susanna, in the figure of Paschal I in S. Prassede, and in the portrait of Leo IV in San Clemente. In the Anastasis, however, a significant change has been made in the way in which the side panels are depicted. In the other examples the creation of a sense of depth has been attempted primarily by the use of colour, but here for the first time a heightened effect has been achieved by the increased use of perspective in the drawing of the nimbus itself. This is noticeable at the top where the diagonal lines of the top of the red side panels are used in an attempt to suggest that they project outwards in space. This development became standard practice in square "halo" representations in tenth-century manuscript illuminations. The most notable example is the Casanatense Pontifical (Rome, *Bib. Casanatense* 724 BI 13), possibly made for Landolphus

(44) MIGNE, *Pl.*, 75, col. 231.

(45) See G. LADNER, "The so-called square nimbus", *Mediaeval Studies*, 3 (1941), 15-45, esp. 36.

I (bishop of Benevento from 957 to 984)([46]). In the scenes which portray the bishop ordaining the various ranks of the clergy, his head is framed with the same type of square "nimbus" to be found at San Clemente, although the attempt to create a three-dimensional effect is perhaps more successful ([47]). Other examples of this type may be found in the *Benedictio Fontis* in the same Casanatense manuscript, and the Exultet roll from the Vatican Library (*Vat. lat.* 9820).

Thus the evidence of this particular type of nimbus form would appear to confirm the date which has already been suggested by the iconography, which is to say the second half of the ninth or the early years of the tenth century. It clearly marks a later stage in the development of the square "halo" which goes one step beyond Leo IV's portrait in San Clemente, yet at the same time its appearance remains awkward in comparison to the manuscript examples of the tenth century.

If this suggested dating is correct, then it may be difficult to determine what was intended by the use of the motif in this context. By the end of the tenth century the traditional concept of an accurate portrait had been largely forgotten, and, at least in certain areas, the square "nimbus" was being used somewhat indiscriminately as a mark of general distinction. In the Casanatense Pontifical, for example, it merely distinguishes the bishop from the other ranks of clergy, and in the Vatican Exultet roll it was even given to the personification of the church, *Mater ecclesia* ([48]). The San Clemente Anastasis apparently belongs to the transitional period between these southern Italian manuscripts and the earlier Roman examples where the meaning is more obvious. On the other hand, it should be remembered that John the Deacon was writing in the second half of the ninth century when he identified the motif as providing an accurate portrait likeness, and there is no reason to suppose that this interpretation was not maintained for at least some time afterwards. In a manuscript example from the early tenth century, *Monte Cassino codex* 175, the abbot John (915-934) is shown presenting

(46) Myrtilla AVERY, *The Exultet Rolls of South Italy* (Princeton, 1936), 27.
(47) *Ibid.*, pls. cv-cix.
(48) *Ibid.*, pl. cxl.

the volume to St. Benedict (49). There is no reason to doubt that the square "halo" which surrounds his head indicated that it was a portrait.

Although today no other examples from this period survive in Rome, it is known that the motif was used in the funerary portraits of popes John XIII (965-972) and John XVIII (1004-1009) in S. Paolo fuori le mura (50). It should not necessarily be assumed that these were painted after the popes in question had died, although presumably artists would have been available who were familiar with their appearance. Because of the intense struggle between rival political factions for control of the papal throne, especially in the troubled period of the tenth century, it may have been a wise precaution to ensure a decent burial by preparing one's tomb in advance. Paschal I is known to have prepared his own tomb in St. Peter's before his death. On the other hand, there is no reason why the portraits could not have been posthumous. The use of the square "halo" should only be taken to indicate that they reflected an accurate likeness of the deceased.

The S. Paolo examples point to a new use for the square "halo" which has not been encountered previously, that is to say in funerary portraits, and it may well be that this is the context in which the San Clemente painting should be viewed. Indeed, this is the interpretation which has been generally suggested (51). The panel does not form part of any larger passion cycle, as do most of the other Anastasis examples, so clearly the choice of subject matter was dependent upon some other reason. The intention, as Wilpert has suggested, is not very difficult to determine : Christ should preserve the deceased from the torments of Hell just as he had done for Adam (52). The other possible interpretation, that the figure in question is merely the donor of the work, seems less convincing. Whereas a benefactor who paid for the decoration of an entire church or even a chapel might reasonably be considered worthy of

(49) *Ibid*., pl. cxcvi

(50) These paintings are known from watercolour copies. *Bib. Vaticana, cod Barb lat.* 4406, fols. 141r, 142r (published by Waetzoldt, *Kopien*, pls 326, 327) The identification of John XVIII is speculative.

(51) Wilpert, "Pitture", 302 ; Cecchelli, *San Clemente*, 153

(52) Wilpert, *RMM*, 893

having his own portrait included, it seems less likely that this should happen in the case of a single painting, especially when it required the omission of other figures who normally would have occupied this space. Nor does it explain why this particular event was selected to be portrayed in the first place. Although the use of funerary portraits is not known to have been popular in Rome at this time, the practice was apparently more widespread in the Byzantine world and thus does not seem out of place on the tomb of an eastern monk. A ninth-century text, the *Translatio S. Theodori Studitae*, mentions the existence of such portraits over the tombs of St. Theodore Studite and his brother Joseph, whose remains were brought to Constantinople in 844 ([53]).

If indeed the painting in San Clemente is a funerary portrait, then one would normally expect to find a tomb. In actual fact some bones were discovered buried in the floor not far from this spot, but there is no reason why they should be connected in any way. Given the absence of a transept or side chapels, this would be the logical site for the burial of anyone of more than ordinary importance, and it may have been used frequently over the centuries. On the other hand, there is some evidence that the burial to which the painting is related was not in the floor, but rather in a monument which stood against the wall. This is suggested by the apparently incongruous shape of the work. It is most unusual to find a lunette-shaped painting where no lunette exists. Admittedly the middle Byzantine versions of the Anastasis theme were often enclosed in this rounded form, for example the mosaics at Hosios Loukas or Nea Moni, but only because this was demanded by the architectural definition of the space available. In the Roman examples there is no such tradition. Therefore, it does not seem impossible that the shape of the fresco could have been determined by external factors. The tomb in question could have been a monument consisting of a sarcophagus over which a small arch was erected. The painting would then have occupied the space created between the top of the sarcophagus and the vault of the arch, a space which would have taken this shape. This kind of arrangement may be found in the earliest medieval funerary monument which has survived in the

(53) MANGO, *Sources*, 184

city : the tomb of the papal chamberlain Alfanus in the porch of S. Maria in Cosmedin (pl. V). On either side of the sarcophagus are columns which rise to support an architrave and pediment. In the enclosed space is a recessed lunette covered with painting. Alfanus is known to have been responsible for the restoration of the church during the reign of Calixtus II (1119-1124), so the tomb may be safely dated to the first half of the twelfth century. Another example of this combination of architecture and wall-painting is the tomb of Cardinal Guglielmo Fieschi (d. 1256) in San Lorenzo fuori le mura, although in this instance the panel painted over the sarcophagus was not semi-circular in shape. A third comparison, and one which is closer to San Clemente in terms of chronology, is provided by the two funerary portraits on the papal tombs formerly in San Paolo fuori le mura. These were also lunette-shaped, and Ladner has postulated that they were enclosed in arcosolia over the tombs (54). A final example from approximately the same period is the funerary portrait of an unidentified abbot in the abbey church at Farfa (55). Once again the half-length figure is enclosed in a lunette and around his head he wears a square "halo". Funerary monuments of this nature were known in western Europe from at least the time of Charlemagne, whose own tomb in Aachen is described by Einhard (*Vita Karoli imperatoris*, cap. 31): "... arcusque supra tumulum deauratus cum imagine et titulo exstructus". This type of memorial picture may ultimately derive from the lunette paintings over tombs in the catacombs which often included portraits of the deceased.

If such a monument did exist at San Clemente, then it would not only account for the shape of the panel, but also it might help to explain why the plaster is so much thicker around the edges. A slightly concave picture surface would make the recessed painting easier to observe. Lastly, if the monument was dismantled and removed when the lower church was abandoned, this might explain why the edges and lower right corner have been destroyed while the bulk of the work remains intact and in relatively good condition.

(54) G. LADNER, *I Ritratti dei Papi nell'Antichità e nel Medioevo*, Vatican City, 1941), i, 168, 171.

(55) See Beatrice PREMOLI, "La chiesa abbaziale di Farfa", *RIASA*, 21-22 (1974-1975), 5-77, pl. 23.

In the confused arena of early medieval Roman art the highly subjective process of stylistic comparisons has often led to misleading results. It is a method of approach, however, which cannot be entirely ignored, especially since there does exist one monument which offers very close parallels to the style of the San Clemente Anastasis. These are provided by the remnants of the cycle of paintings which once adorned the church of S. Maria de Gradellis, or, as it later became known, S. Maria Egiziaca. The building itself is a classical temple, thought to have been built during the Republican period to Portunus, god of harbours, although it is now commonly called the Temple of Fortuna Virilis. The date of its consecration as a Christian church is not known. The existence of a medieval decorative programme came to light when Antonio Muñoz restored the building to its original appearance in 1925. Before that it formed part of a hospice for Armenian pilgrims. Although most of the medieval painting was destroyed when the building was re-decorated in the sixteenth century, Muñoz discovered that some of the scenes had remained hidden behind four pilasters, and that these had survived virtually intact. On the side walls there were six horizontal registers of scenes, and on the end wall a depiction of Christ in glory with angels and the tetramorph. The first full publication of this material was made by Jacqueline Lafontaine in 1959 (56).

The parallels between the paintings in S. Maria de Gradellis and the San Clemente Anastasis are very striking. In both monuments the figures have large solid faces with heavily accented eyes and large pupils. The fingers are elongated, and there is an apparent propensity for the same hair style of long plaited braids which fall down over the shoulders. In this last regard it is useful to compare the figure of Adam from San Clemente to the figure which has been tentatively identified as St. John the Evangelist (LAFONTAINE, pl. xxi). These two aptly demonstrate the close similarity of facial types. The same hair style is also worn by a variety of other figures in the S. Maria de Gradellis cycle, for example Christ in the Annunciation of

(56) J. LAFONTAINE, *Peintures Médiévales dans le Temple dit de la Fortune Virile à Rome*, Brussels, 1959.

the Virgin's death (pl. VI), and the small heads which are interspersed with decorative motifs in the medallions which form the borders of the scenes at both the top and the bottom (pl. VII).

The comparison between the two monuments is strengthened by an examination of the treatment of drapery. The three red stripes which feature so prominently in the *paenula* decorations of both Christ and Adam may also be found in the figures of Joachim (pl. VIII), the annunciate angel (LAFONTAINE, pl. vi), and St. Peter (pl. VII) from S. Maria de Gradellis. In both churches the use of folds is entirely arbitrary and for primarily decorative reasons. Both employ the long sweeping curve which is used to indicate the upper leg from the hip to the knee, a device which is characteristic of Roman wall-painting in the ninth century. This is rendered in exactly the same manner in the San Clemente Christ as in the figures of Mary's attendant (LAFONTAINE, pl. vi) and St. Basil (pl. IX). Another close similarity may be seen from a comparison between the billowing drapery of Christ and that of St. John in the episode in which he greets the other apostles (pl. VII). In each case the folds spill out in an identical manner.

More conclusive parallels may be found in the decorative motifs which form an integral part of the artists' repertoire. Thus, the same geometric designs which decorate the head-covering in San Clemente are used in S. Maria de Gradellis to adorn the beds of Anne and Mary. This is most obvious in the decoration immediately above Mary's legs (pl. VI) where the three motifs which are employed (cross-hatching, circles separated by two dots, and zig-zag lines with one dot in each compartment) are identical to the decorations on the right side of the monk's head. The other two types of design used on the hood may be found at the ends of the bed. The further use of these motifs as pallium decorations may be seen in the figures of popes Calixtus and Alexander (LAFONTAINE, pl. xviii). It should also be noted that the decoration on the cover of the book held by pope Alexander is identical to the bookcover in the San Clemente mural. In both examples a solid line of white dots is used to embellish the edges.

The cloth which is wrapped around the column at San Clemente finds a ready comparison in the arrangement of column and curtain in the S. Maria de Gradellis scene of Basil and the repentant sinner

(pl. IX)(57). The most remarkable parallel, however, lies in the columns themselves(58). In San Clemente the spiral fluting is interrupted about two-thirds of the way up from the bottom by an entirely different decoration. The change is signalled at the top by two heavy horizontal lines. Presumably these also occurred beneath, but this area is covered by the drapery of Christ's garment. The intervening space between the sets of lines is occupied by diagonal lines joining the corners, and in each of the four triangular sections thus created there is a single dot. In the S. Maria de Gradellis scene the column has perpendicular fluting, but this is also interrupted in the same place by an almost identical design. This type of column decoration does not occur elsewhere in early medieval Roman art, although similar interruptions of spiral fluting may be observed in the columns between the standing saints in an illustration from a Greek manuscript of the *Homilies* of Gregory of Nazianzus from the second half of the ninth century (Paris, *Bibl. Nat. ms. gr.* 510, fol. 72).

The similarities between the two Roman churches are easy to document, and the use of precisely the same decorative patterns suggests that the same workshop was responsible for the production of both. The task becomes more difficult, however, when one attempts to determine the various sources of their common style. Some of the comparisons which have been made are elements which were already well-established in Rome. The three red stripes on the garment hem, for example, may be seen in the figure of St. Peter from a fragment of wall-painting in San Saba (WILPERT, *RMM*, pl. 188, 1), and its further occurrence in the ninth-century mosaics of S. Prassede and San Marco, as well as in the Leo IV Anastasis in San Clemente, has been noted by Lafontaine(59). Another element for which local antecedents may be found is the single curved line which is used to depict the entire upper leg. The development of this tradition may be traced through a number of Roman monuments. In the painting which depicts saints Prassede and Potentiana flanking St. Peter, discovered beneath the church of S. Pudenziana,

(57) *Ibid.*, 71.
(58) BELTING, *Studien*, 238, note 19.
(59) LAFONTAINE, 60.

the two female figures display the beginning of a curved line cutting across the leg at the knee (WILPERT, *RMM*, pl. 218), but the full development of this device occurs only in the mosaics and wall-paintings from the time of Paschal I. In the middle of the ninth century it appears in this developed form in the figures of Leo IV and the two crouching apostles in the San Clemente Ascension. After S. Maria de Gradellis and the second version of the Anastasis in San Clemente, its use seems to disappear from Roman art, although one trace is preserved in the niche from the oratory beneath S. Urbani alla Caffarella.

The source of other elements is more difficult to trace. The wearing of long braided hair, for example, while not unknown in Roman painting, is nevertheless uncommon. Christ wears long hair in the Christological scenes from the San Clemente nave, as do the angels and prophets from S. Maria in Cosmedin (60). However, it is not as pronounced and there is no indication of braids. Closer parallels for this unusual hair style are to be found in three illuminated Greek manuscripts which are highly controversial from the point of view both of dating and place of origin : the Vatican Job (*Bib. Vaticana, cod. gr.* 749), the Milan Gregory, and the Paris *Sacra Parallela* (*Bibl. Nationale, ms. gr.* 923). These present close similarities to S. Maria de Gradellis. The same style of long hair is characteristic of the portrayals of Job in the Vatican manuscript (61), as well as of prophets in the Paris *Parallela* (62) and the Milan Gregory. It may also be found in Carolingian manuscripts from the middle of the ninth century.

Similarly, the motif of the cloth or curtains tied around a column enjoyed a widespread popularity in the early Middle Ages. It may be found in such widely divergent examples as the curtains in the Stuttgart Psalter (*Württ. Landesbib. Biblia folio*, 23, fol. 65r), or the cloths in the donor portraits from the Leo Bible (*Bib. Vaticana, cod. Reg. gr.* 1). This popularity did not, however, extend to Roman wall-painting, and apart from the two monuments in question the

(60) G. B. GIOVENALE, *La Basilica di S. Maria in Cosmedin*, Rome, 1927, pls. XXXV-XXXVII.

(61) *Bib. Vaticana, cod. gr.* 749, fol. 6, 8, 241.

(62) For example fol. 134v, 161v. See A. GRABAR, *Les manuscrits grecs enluminés de provenance italienne (IXe-XIe siècles)*, Paris, 1972, pls. 18, 32.

only other surviving example of its use is in the background to the four popes on John VII's triumphal arch in S. Maria Antiqua (WILPERT, *RMM*, pl. 154).

Thus, while these stylistic comparisons may be used to demonstrate the close relationship between San Clemente and S. Maria de Gradellis, they are of limited use in any attempt to date either monument. Lafontaine believed that the S. Maria paintings belong to the same "Roman school" which was responsible for the programmes of mosaic decoration in the city in the early ninth century (63), a view which seems to be largely confirmed by an examination of their style. Matthiae, on the other hand, has taken an entirely opposite view for the San Clemente Anastasis and speaks of a "fondo orientale o cappadoceno" (64). The influence of Byzantine art has also been noted by Hans Belting (65).

There has been less disagreement with regard to the dating. The suggestion made by Roller in 1873 that the San Clemente panel was probably a product of the tenth century (66) has been accepted by many scholars (67). Ladner modified this only slightly, opting for a date "nicht viel vor 900" (68), and Matthiae has also ascribed a ninth-century date on the basis of Lafontaine's publication of S. Maria de Gradellis (69).

This dating of the S. Maria paintings is largely based upon two inscriptions which refer to the decoration of the building. One of these names the donor as Stephen, and adds that he was assisted by his wife and children. It also states that the pope during whose reign this work was accomplished was John VIII (872-882). The second specifies more clearly the nature of Stephen's gift in the phrase "purgavit ... atque decoravit". The evidence of the plaster reveals that the walls were only painted once, so the fragments which

(63) LAFONTAINE, 77.

(64) G. MATTHIAE, *Pittura Romana nel Medioevo*, Rome, 1965, i, 235.

(65) BELTING, *Studien*, 239-240.

(66) ROLLER, 101.

(67) WILPERT, "Pitture", 302 ; CECCHELLI, *San Clemente*, 153 ; E. JUNYENT, *Il Titolo di San Clemente*, Rome, 1932, 167.

(68) G. LADNER, "Die italienische Malerei im 11. Jahrhundert", *JbKSWien*, 5 (1931), 33-160, esp. 97.

(69) MATTHIAE, *Pittura Romana*, i, 234.

remain may reasonably be regarded as part of Stephen's donation. Although neither of these inscriptions has survived, they were still visible in 1571, the year of the church's re-decoration, and copies were made at the request of cardinal Santori (70).

Apart from the evidence of these inscriptions, support for a date in the second half of the ninth century has been sought in a stylistic and palaeographic comparison to the wall-paintings of S. Passera on the via Portuense. This monument is not precisely dated, but Lafontaine considers it "antérieur au xe siècle" (71). Also, in her view, a comparison to two slightly later examples, the tenth-century paintings in S. Sebastiano al Palatino and the eleventh-century cycle in S. Urbano alla Caffarella, produces only negative results.

Thus it would appear that the stylistic evidence of the San Clemente Anastasis points to a date in the second half of the ninth century. This in itself is of questionable validity, but when the evidence of the iconography and the type of square "halo" are also brought into consideration the proposal takes on an increased significance. The result of each line of investigation has led to the same conclusion, and the second half of the ninth century may be reasonably regarded as the most probable date for the painting of this mural.

If, as has been suggested, the Anastasis contains the funerary portrait of an eastern monk who was buried in San Clemente at some date after the middle of the ninth century, it would be useful to consider a more positive identification of this figure. It is most unfortunate that the letters above his head have been defaced, for it is possible that his name was specified here. The close proximity of the site to the altar suggests that he may have been a person of some importance, yet at first glance it appears puzzling that such a man should come to be buried in a small and relatively insignificant Roman church and not in one of the numerous Greek monasteries in the city. The solution to the problem, given the proposed dating, may possibly lie in the close connection with the church of the Byzantine missionaries Constantine and Methodios. Constantine is

(70) See LAFONTAINE, 12 ; BELTING, *Studien*, 238, note 18.

(71) LAFONTAINE, 78. A link between the two monuments is also noted by BELTING, *Studien*, 241, note 30.

better known by the name Cyril, which he adopted in the last months of his life. These two brothers from Thessaloniki had been engaged on a mission to convert the Slavic peoples to Christianity, and Cyril's name is commemorated by the Cyrillic alphabet which he is supposed to have developed for this previously illiterate race. In 868 the two brothers were summoned to Rome by pope Nicholas in order to justify their translation of the liturgy into Slavonic. They arrived in December of that year and were accorded a warm reception by the new pope, Hadrian II, who commanded that the translated liturgy should be sung in a number of Roman churches. It may have been of some assistance to their cause that they brought with them to Rome the relics of St. Clement, one of the earliest successors to Peter as bishop of the city, who according to legend had suffered exile and ultimately martyrdom in the city of Cherson in Crimea. On an earlier mission to the Khazars, Cyril and Methodios had discovered Clement's relics, and these they now presented to the church of San Clemente where they were ceremoniously deposited beneath the high altar. Two months later, Cyril died in the city and was eventually buried in the same church, while Methodios returned to the Slavic mission where he remained another sixteen years.

Cyril is the only eastern monk who is known to have been buried in San Clemente at this or any other time, and a closer examination of the evidence for the location of his tomb within the church is necessary in order to determine whether he could be the figure depicted in the Anastasis painting.

There are two primary sources which deal with Cyril's death in Rome in February 869 and his subsequent burial in San Clemente. The first is the *De translatione S. Clementis* (or, as it is often called, the *Legenda italica*), which until recently was only known from one manuscript in the Vatican Library (*cod. lat.* 9668). Considerable light has been shed upon the origins of this source by the discovery of a second manuscript copy in the library of the Metropolitan Chapter of Prague (*cod. Prag. Capituli metrop.* N. xxiii) (72). This not

(72) See Paul MEYVAERT and Paul DEVOS, "Trois énigmes cyrillo-méthodiennes de la 'Légende Italique' résolues grâce à un document inédit", *AnalBoll*, 73 (1955), 375-461, and "Autour de Léon d'Ostie et de sa 'Translatio S. Clementis' ", *AnalBoll*, 74 (1956), 189-240 ; Ivan DUJČEV, "La solution de quelques énigmes

only clarifies certain portions of the text which were almost illegible in the Vatican version, but also it contains a preface which identifies the author and his sources. It has long been thought that the writer was Leo of Ostia, the famous chronicler of Monte Cassino, and this identification can now be confirmed. Since the work is dedicated to pope Paschal II, who had formerly been the titular cardinal of San Clemente, its composition must date after his election in 1099 and before Leo of Ostia's death in May 1115.

The *Legenda italica* describes how Constantine became a monk, and according to the established custom adopted a new name which began with the same letter of the alphabet. The name he chose was Cyril. Fifty days later he died (14 February 869), and after some disagreement as to where his remains should be buried, Methodios' compromise suggestion of San Clemente was agreed upon. The passage which relates to Cyril's burial reads as follows :

> «... simul cum locello marmoreo in quo pridem illum predictus papa condiderat, posuerunt in monumento ad id preparato in basilica beati Clementis ad dexteram partem altaris ipsius cum ympnis et laudibus maximis gratias agentes Deo ...» (73).

Translation : (the body of Cyril), together with the marble sarcophagus in which the aforesaid pope (= Hadrian II) had originally laid him, was placed in a monument prepared for that purpose in the church of St. Clement at the right hand side of his (= Clement's) altar, with hymns and praises of thanksgiving to God ...

The wording of the text provides important information concerning the nature of the grave site. Cyril was not buried beneath the floor of the church, but rather in a marble sarcophagus ("locello marmoreo") which was itself enclosed in a larger monument. The passage also describes the location of this monument within the church, to the right of the altar.

Leo of Ostia's primary source for the *Legenda* was a ninth-century *Life of Clement* written by Gauderic, bishop of Velletri, who

Cyrillo-Méthodiennes", *Byzantion*, 24 (1954), 303-307, and "Problèmes Cyrillo-méthodiens", *Byzantion*, 37 (1967), 21-56.

(73) MEYVAERT and DEVOS, "Trois énigmes", 461. The complete Latin text of the *Legenda* is published as an addendum to the article.

presented it to pope John VIII (872-882). Thus it must be dated approximately one decade after the events in Rome had taken place. A portion of Gauderic's work survives in the eleventh-century codex 234 of Monte Cassino (74). He, in turn, had drawn his material from two sources, and these are revealed in the preface to the Prague manuscript. They are a Slavic *Life of Cyril* to which he apparently had access, and a Latin translation of Cyril's own account of the discovery of Clement's relics in the Crimea. A letter written to Gauderic by Anastasius, the papal librarian who had enjoyed close contacts with the two brothers during their Roman visit, reveals that Anastasius was the author of this translation.

A second source which specifies the site of Cyril's burial is the Slavic *Life of Constantine*. Although a number of manuscripts of this text survive, none are dated before the fifteenth century (75). However, the antiquity of the text is demonstrated by its use of the Old Slavonic language, and it may be the same version which was used as a source by Gauderic *circa* 880. If this is the case, then it would date from Methodios's own lifetime (d. 6 April 885) and would probably have been based on information which he himself had supplied. The account of Cyril's taking monastic orders, his subsequent death, and his ultimate burial in San Clemente is essentially the same. Again the location is specified as being on the right-hand side of the altar, and the additional information is given that his portrait was painted over the tomb (76). This is of vital importance as it is the only known textual reference to any of the paintings in the lower church.

The location of Cyril's tomb has become something of a spectre which inevitably enters into any discussion of the lower church and its decorations. This is not surprising since it was, after all, one of the instigating motives for the excavation in the first place. In 1863 De Rossi was the first to tackle the subject when he proposed a site at

(74) *Ibid.*, 383.

(75) Francis DVORNIK, *Les Légendes de Constantin et de Méthode vues de Byzance*, Prague, 1933, 339-341.

(76) P. DUTHILLEUL, "Les reliques de Clément de Rome", *REB*, 16 (1958), 85-98, esp. 96 : "On y peignit son image et une lumière y brilla jour et nuit à la gloire de Dieu".

the sanctuary end of the left aisle ([77]). This was based upon a number of considerations, but primarily his ill-founded belief that the walls here were painted with a cycle of the life of Cyril. He also took into account the important phrase from the *Legenda italica*, "ad dexteram partem altaris", which he interpreted as meaning to the *left* of the altar as one faced it from the narthex end of the church. If this appears at first glance to have been a rather dubious interpretation on his part, it should be borne in mind that the excavators were under considerable pressure to locate the tomb by that very year, 1863, in which the one thousandth anniversary of the Slavic mission was being celebrated. The occasion of this anniversary had been used by Mullooly to solicit excavation funds from the bishops of the Slavic countries, and papers such as *L'Osservatore Romano* had voiced the hope that the relics could be located in time for the celebration ([78]). Not only did De Rossi believe that the figure of Cyril was portrayed in the left aisle, but in addition there existed in this spot the rectangular marble base of what may have been a large sarcophagus. Nothing comparable could be found on the other side of the church, and it is perhaps worth bearing in mind that the Anastasis painting had not yet been discovered and would not be for another five years. Thus, in De Rossi's view, the left aisle appeared to be the only possible site. The suggestion was quickly and readily accepted as fact. The identification of the left aisle as the original location of Cyril's tomb has subsequently met with little serious objection, and today it is the site which is officially venerated by both the Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox churches. A number of memorials have been erected on this spot by a variety of interested groups, including a mosaic portrait of Cyril which was presented by the government of Bulgaria.

The only dissenting opinion has been voiced by Joseph Wilpert who rejected not only the idea that there was a life of Cyril cycle painted in the left aisle but also De Rossi's interpretation of the phrase "to the right side of the altar" ([79]). He believed that the *Legenda* passage referred to the re-location of the relics in the upper

(77) G. B. De Rossi, *BACr*, 1 (1863), 12.
(78) Boyle, *San Clemente Miscellany*, i, 188-189
(79) Wilpert, "Pitture", 271

church after the lower basilica had been abandoned in the early years of the twelfth century. Instead of the left aisle, he suggested a site in the narthex beneath the painting which has come to be called the "Particular Judgement", where indeed a tomb containing bones had been discovered. In 1929 the Pontifical Commission for Sacred Archeology established an inquiry to examine this possibility, but their results were negative. The historical evidence indicated that the relics had been removed when the new basilica was construucted. An analysis of the bones in the tomb demonstrated that there were at least two human skeletons. One of these was of a young adult, but the other was in such an advanced state of decay that no analysis was possible. The Commission concluded that there was no real possibility that this could be the grave of Cyril ([80]).

The complete story of the fate of the relics has only recently come to light as the result of a new investigation undertaken by the archivist of San Clemente, Leonard Boyle ([81]). In examining late medieval and Renaissance sources it became clear that the remains of Cyril had indeed been removed from the lower church when it was abandoned. There is some question as to where they were first placed in the new basilica, but a number of sixteenth-century sources, including Pompeio Ugonio's *Historia delle Stationi di Roma*, refer to their location under the altar of the chapel of St. Cyril, immediately to the right of the entrance to the sacristy. The dedication of this chapel was changed from Cyril to St. Dominic after 1645 when the monastery was taken over by the Dominican order. During the provisional Roman Republic of 1798-1799, San Clemente was listed among a number of churches which were to be supressed, and on 18 August 1798 Father Lorenzo Agostini removed the urn containing Cyril's remains to the Chiesa Nuova for safekeeping. The church was eventually saved from demolition by the camerlengo of San Giovanni in Laterano, Monsignor Lorenzo Mattei. He argued successfully that future generations might not look lightly on the destruction of so many artistic treasures, and on

(80) J. WILPERT *et al.*, "Per la scoperta di un sepolcro nella basilica di S. Clemente", *RACr*, 6 (1929), 241-245.

(81) L. BOYLE, "Constantine-Cyril and the Basilica of San Clemente, Rome", *Mediaeval Studies*, 26 (1964), 359-363, and "The Fate of the Remains of St. Cyril", *San Clemente Miscellany*, ii, Rome, 1978, 13-35.

30 June 1799 the Lateran was granted jurisdiction over the basilica. On 4 July of that year, Mattei claimed the relics from the Chiesa Nuova, but evidently he did not return them to San Clemente. He deposited them instead in his family chapel in the nearby Palazzo Mattei. A reliquary which claims to contain some of Cyril's bones was discovered by Father Boyle among the possessions of the Antici-Mattei family, and this was returned to San Clemente on 17 November 1963.

While Cyril's ultimate fate no longer remains a mystery, the original location of his tomb in the lower church is still an open question. Wilpert's objections to locating the grave in the left aisle are valid, and there is no reason to believe that a cycle illustrating the life of Cyril was painted here (82). Clearly a great deal must depend on the interpretation of the phrase "to the right side of the altar". One point, however, has been clarified. This could not have been a reference by Leo of Ostia to the new location of the relics in the upper church, since the same description of the site is given independently by the Old Slavonic *Life of Constantine*. It is not even certain that the new basilica had been started when Leo wrote his book. It is important, then, to determine what the expression "to the right of the altar" would have meant to a medieval writer.

Contrary to De Rossi's assumption, it seems logical that the primary orientation of a church would be towards the altar and not away from it. This is reflected in the procession of the clergy during celebrations of the mass. An important confirmation is provided by the inscription on the pillar in the right aisle of S. Prassede which speaks of the San Zeno chapel as being "manu dextra", which, given the position of the chapel within the church was obviously intended to mean on the right-hand side as one faced the altar. Although the exact date of the inscription is controversial, there is little doubt that it was composed at some point in the Middle Ages (83).

Unfortunately it is not possible to compare the rendering of the face to other contemporary portraits of Cyril since none are known to have survived or to have ever existed. One of the first subsequent

(82) See J. OSBORNE, "Early mediaeval wall-paintings in the lower church of San Clemente, Rome", 129-132.

(83) See Ursula NILGEN, "Die große Reliquieninschrift von Santa Prassede. Eine quellen kritische Untersuchung zur Zeno-Kapelle", *RQ*, 69 (1974), 7-29.

depictions of the saint may occur in the miniature of the Miracle of Clement's Tomb in the Menologion of Basil II (*Bib. Vaticana, cod. gr.* 1613), but there is nothing to suggest that it reflects an accurate likeness (84).

The situation we are left with may be summed up as follows. From a variety of textual sources we know that St. Cyril died in Rome in the year 869, that his body was placed in a monument in San Clemente situated to the right side of the altar, and that his portrait was set above his tomb. Balancing this we have the surviving evidence of what is apparently the portrait of an important eastern monk in a mural which formed a part of a funerary monument located immediately to the right of the altar as one faced it upon entering the church. Iconographic and stylistic considerations suggest a date for this painting in the second half of the ninth century. Although the evidence is not conclusive, there are enough points of comparison to render the identification at least possible if not in fact probable. Perhaps the most puzzling aspect of the problem is the reason for the defacing of the inscriptions in the painting, a mystery which has so far defied solution.

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(84) See I. DUJČEV, "Une miniature byzantine méconnue avec les images de Cyrille et Méthode ?", *Byzantion*, 36 (1966), 51-73.

ON THE TITULATURE OF THE EMPEROR HERACLIUS

In a recent article (1) Evangelos K. Chrysos discussed the *basileia* of the early Byzantine emperors, the same problem I had treated a few years ago (2), and joined issue with many scholars such as Bury, Vasiliev, Stein and Ostrogosky (*Title*, 31-33). As he included also a discussion of my *Factor* (*Title*, 34) and as the problem of the *basileia* is important, I should like to invite his attention to the following observations, which should clarify my views on the *basileia*.

I

(1) In *Factor* I tried to solve the mystery of the appearance of the title, *basileus*, in the imperial titulature in A.D. 629 by identifying the components of the complex situation which obtained around the date and exploring *all* the possible factors, assigning to each what seemed to me its due importance. My conclusion was that the decisive factor was not the Hellenistic which had obtained for centuries before the reign of Heraclius without bringing about the employment of the title, *basileus*, officially, but the Christian. To support this conclusion, I assembled evidence, much of it *contemporary* with the event (*Factor*, 302-305, 307-308) which Chrysos seems to have overlooked.

(2) The crucial question to raise with regard to the *basileia* of A.D. 629 is why it was in that year or in the reign of Heraclius that the title appeared in the imperial titulature, and not in the reign of Phocas or Maurice. Ch.'s answer (*Title*, 70) that it appeared after what he calls the abolition of the client-kingdoms in the last quarter

(1) See "The Title *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ* in Early Byzantine International Relations", *DOP*, 32 (1978), pp. 31-75 ; henceforth cited as *Title*.

(2) See "The Iranian Factor in Byzantium during the Reign of Heraclius", *DOP*, 26 (1972), pp. 295-320 ; henceforth cited as *Factor*.

of the sixth century carries no conviction, partly because he will have to explain why Maurice or Phocas did not assume the title. This is a serious objection which challenges the very structure of his argument.

(3) In answering this question, I marshalled evidence not from the other reigns but from the reign of Heraclius himself. Ch. neglects the most pertinent evidence – the work of George of Pisidia, who was both the court-poet and a presbyter of St. Sophia. The importance of the Christian factor is evident in his writings. The David Plates (3), too, are another contemporary document, issued by Heraclius himself, which is eloquent testimony to the importance of the religious or Biblical factor in the assumption of the title *basileus* in 629, as is the phrase *πιστὸς ἐν Χριστῷ* which precedes it.

(4) The Armenian origin of Heraclius is not a "suggestion" of mine as Ch. says (*Title*, 34). Others had suggested it (*Factor*, p. 308, nn. 58, 59), but instead of leaving this question unargued, I examined it carefully and resuscitated a passage from Sebeos for that purpose. Nowhere do I present his Arsacid descent as a fact, and the subjunctive mood is used throughout to reflect my conclusions on this point. When it comes to relating it to the *basileia* of A.D. 629, I simply presented it as a possibility, without exaggerating its importance or relevance, in conformity with my approach of exploring all possible factors and influences. To Ch. the abolition of an Arsacid "local kingship" 250 years before A.D. 629 could not have influenced Heraclius (*Title*, 34), but a descendant of the Arsacids might well have vividly remembered it. Long after the dissolution of this "local kingship", the Arsacids remained partial to the purple (4) of all the colors of the spectrum as the career of Artabanus in the reign of Justinian testifies (*Factor*, 311-12).

(5) In (*Factor*, 313-317) I saw in the titular change to *basileus* some constitutional significance as Bury had done before (5). But I

(3) See Suzanne S. ALEXANDER, "Heraclius, Byzantine Imperial Ideology, and the David Plates", *Speculum*, LII, No. 2 (1977), pp. 217-237.

(4) The imperial purple was of course red.

(5) When he included the discussion of the *basileia* of A.D. 629 in the Crieghton Lecture which he entitled "The Constitution of the Later Roman Empire" ; see *Selected Essays of J. B. Bury*, ed. H. Temperely (Cambridge, 1930), pp. 108-110.

also had in mind a passage in the *Heraclias* of George of Pisidia involving a *nomos* the interpretation of which had been the despair of commentators (6). In a forthcoming article (7) I argue that the *nomos* is related to the *basileia* of A.D. 629. Even if what is involved in the crucial word in the *nomos* turns out to be dynastic and hereditary succession, and not exactly the *basileia*, the former expressed in the *nomos* and the latter in the titular change are intimately related (*Factor*, 316) and can thus be described as constitutional change. This should answer Ch.'s reservations on the constitutional significance of the titular change (*Title*, 34). And when Ch. takes into account such important contemporary documents as the *nomos* in Pisides and the David Plates he will not find it difficult to come round to the conclusions on the *basileia* stated in *Factor*.

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The primary aim of Ch.'s study is, in his own words, "to reconsider the evidence concerning the official titles of the rulers of the neighboring states of the Byzantine empire" (*Title*, 33), and to this topic he devotes pp. 35-59 of his article. Of these, pp. 46-52 deal with "The Arab Phylarchies" in which he frequently refers to the articles I have written on the subject. These articles on *Byzantino-arabica* have some very relevant material that bears on the larger problem of the imperial *basileia* (8) and for this reason the following comments are all the more necessary.

(1) Perhaps the most important is the *basileia* of the Arab king Arethas, Justinian's client in the sixth century. In a well-known passage in Procopius (9), that historian states unequivocally and in no ambiguous terms that the emperor Justinian conferred on him the title *basileus*. No amount of ingenuity (*Title*, 47-49) involving

(6) See "Heraclias", *Georgio di Pisidia, Poemi, I : Panegirici epici*, ed. and trans. A. Pertusi, StPB, 7 (Ettal, 1959), p. 244, ll. 97-101.

(7) See "Heraclius, πιστὸς ἐν Χριστῷ Βασιλεύς", *DOP*, 34, which should have appeared a long time ago as a sequel to my first article on Heraclius in *DOP*, 26.

(8) Thus the reign of the Ghassanid king, Arethas, becomes important not only for the study of the Arab-Byzantine relationship but also for purely Byzantine problems, *e.g.* the application of the term *basileus* to the Byzantine *autokrator*.

(9) *History*, I xvii.47.

the phrase *βασιλέως ἀξίωμα* will succeed in changing the meaning of the passage, which is crystal clear (10). Justinian conferred and Arethas assumed the *basileia*, which is attested among other things by an Arabic inscription and by a verse of a pre-Islamic poet who speaks of his royal headgear. This passage in Procopius is of course a major piece of evidence against Ch.'s thesis and I remain more convinced by the late G. Ostrogorsky than by Ch. on the title *basileus* as applied to the client-kings.

Ch. himself is aware of the fragility of his position resting as it does on silence (*Title*, 59). Silence, however, has to be reinterpreted as the preceding paragraph has shown and the same fragility haunts Ch.'s reasoning and vitiates his conclusions (*Title*, part V, p. 70) when he states that the title, *basileus*, was assumed by the Imperator «only after the abolition of the kingship in the client kingdoms". After disagreements with Maurice, the Ghassanid kingship was restored and Arab client-kings of Byzantium are attested in the seventh century, even after the titular change of A.D. 629.

(2) Ch. devotes an excursus to the discussion of the title of "king of kings" as applied to Odenathus of Palmyra (*Title*, 51-52).

When I wrote on this title, I followed Alföldi and the authority on Palmyra, J. Starcky (11). Although Ch. has gone deeply into the history of the application of the title to Odenathus, he has not given a cogent argument against its assumption by Odenathus : (a) the Romans conferred on Odenathus much more important titles from their point of view, namely, *dux Romanorum*, and *corrector totius Orientis*, and they could easily have conferred or permitted Odenathus to assume a title that was non-Roman, and that, moreover, was a slight to their enemy, the Persian king ; (b) the presumption from the appearance of the title on a *miliarium* and its application to Odenathus's son is that it had been assumed by the father. This is the easier way of interpreting the title than to assume that it was applied posthumously and incorrectly to the father by the son. The evidence for the reign of Odenathus is surely fragmentary and when it ceases to be so, the title of "king of kings" is likely to be

(10) As correctly understood by the authority on Procopius and the reign of Justinian, R. Rubin ; see *Das Zeitalters Justinians* (Berlin, 1960), I, p. 493, n. 825.

(11) See Alfoldi, *CAH*, 175-6, and J. Starcky, *Palmyre* (1952), pp. 55, 57

recovered for Odenathus ; (c) after the death of Odenathus, Palmyra's conflict was with Rome, not Persia ; hence the assumption of the Persian title "king of kings" by Odenathus's son is unintelligible except as inherited from his father during whose reign the conflict was with Persia ; thus, the reign of the father is the more likely one for the assumption of the Persian title, reflecting rivalry between Palmyra and Persia.

The chances are, then, good that Odenathus did assume the title. It mattered little whether the initiative came from Gallienus or Odenathus himself ; the title was either conferred by Gallienus or assumed by Odenathus with Gallienus' approval. Rome did not mind their clients' assumption of titles that from the Roman point of view were unworthy of Romans, were barbarian, and belonged to that world. In addition to Caesarion, Pompey himself, according to Dio, conferred it on Tigranes (12).

(3) The *cursus honorum* of the Ghassanid client-kings in the sixth century has been studied for one of their kings, Arethas, and it has been argued that the promotion of Arethas from one rank to another did not take place at one time but was rather relaxed and spread over the reign (13). In so doing, I was modifying what Nöldeke and Brünnow had said (14). Ch. seems to be absolutely sure about how and when these titles were conferred on Arethas (*Title*, p. 49, n. 131) in spite of the fact that the problem is complex and the evidcence is so fragmentary that it is impossible to be as sure, as Ch. obviously is, on the problem of these titles : (a) the patriciate of Arethas appears in an inscription dated A.D. 559, late in his reign and I have argued that its conferment took place in the early forties (15) ; (b) against this,

(12) On Pompey's contempt for the title "king of kings" and his giving it to the captive Tigranes when he celebrated his triumph in Rome, see Dio, *Roman History*, XXXVII, vi, 1-2. According to Plutarch, Domitius Ahenobarbus applied it to Pompey himself before Pharsalia, and, in so doing, brought so much odium on him ; PLUTARCH'S *Lives*, "Pompey", LXVII, 3. These passages in Dio and Plutarch are revealing and clearly suggest that the Romans played with these titles which belonged to the alien world of the barbarians.

(13) See "The Patriciate of Arethas", *BZ*, 52 (1959), 321-343.

(14) *Ibid.* Appendix II, 341-343. Thus the epithet "articifical" he uses in *Title*, p. 49, n. 131 should also apply to both Nöldeke and Brunnow !

(15) *Ibid.*, 332.

Ch. states categorically that the patriciate was conferred in A.D. 530 (*Title*, p. 49, n. 131) but what the evidence is for the statement is nowhere to be found in his article ; (c) I have argued that his rank was *illustris* when the patriciate was conferred on him ([16]) and that the gloriosissimate was conferred in the fifties. Ch. states categorically and impatiently that the latter was conferred with the patriciate and that this happened in A.D. 530, for which there is no evidence. My conclusions on the *cursus honorum* of Arethas in the sixth century took into account, and were based on, certain chronological indications in the sources *e.g.* the date of the Novel on Arabia, namely, A.D. 536, but they were drawn more than twenty years ago. In due course I shall re-examine the Ghassanid *cursus honorum* for the entire sixth century and modify any views when new evidence justifies modification ([17]).

(4) The question of the *prodosia* of the Ghassanid king Arethas, is referred to by Ch. but it is not entirely clear whether he reflected accurately my views on this problem (*Title*, pp. 47-48, and n. 119). The *prodosia* theme was, indeed, played by Procopius but the same historian lifted the charge himself and the matter should have rested there ([18]). Since modern historians have overlooked this passage in Procopius and have continued to repeat his earlier assertions on the *prodosia* of Arethas, I found it necessary to write an extensive article on the problem ([19]) in which I tried to show that Procopius played the *prodosia* theme as part of his *Kaiserkritik*. It was more a contribution to Procopian than to Ghassanid studies. Ch.'s reference to "the notorious treachery of Arethas" (*Title*, n. 119) is therefore strange and suggests that he overlooked or must have overlooked the crucial passage in Procopius which absolved Arethas completely.

(5) Nöldeke was the greatest Semitist of his time and probably of all time but he was not a Byzantinist and had to rely on his colleagues *e.g.* R. Schöll for *Byzantina*. It is therefore strange that Ch. should invoke the authority of the Semitist on such a problem as

(16) *Ibid.*, 331, n. 37.

(17) See *infra*, n. 20.

(18) *History*, II, XXVIII, 13.

(19) "Procopius and Arethas", *BZ*, 50 (1957), pp. 39-67, 362-382 ; also "Procopius and Arethas Again", *Byzantion*, XLI (1971), pp 313-338.

the application of the title *basileus* to the Byzantine *autokrator* (*Title*, 47). Besides, Nöldeke wrote almost a century ago and his views are due for a thorough re-examination ([20]).

In spite of these criticisms in principle and in detail, Ch.'s article deserves much credit for its erudition, its many insights, and its comprehensive bibliographical orientation. With the exception of the section on the Arab phylarchies, it is a valuable source for the comparative study of the client-kingships of the early Byzantine period.

II

Gerhard Rösch devoted two paragraphs in a recent book of his ([21]) to the discussion of my article, *Factor*. I should like to correct him on the two points which he raised :

(1) If R. had read carefully pp. 304-305 on "Flavius" in *Factor*, he would not have made his strange animadversion in (*OB*, n. 179 on p. 107). I am not unaware that "Flavius" was assumed by the Second Flavians beginning with Constantius the Elder and Constantine the Great, and indeed, I devote to this an entire paragraph (*Factor*, 304) ; but I reminded the reader that it had originally been assumed three centuries earlier by the First Flavians and that the genealogy of the title "Flavius" as assumed by the Christian Roman emperors is to be traced back to the pagan Flavians of the first century. Claudius II Gothicus (268-270) was the link in the transmission of the title from the First to the Second Flavians. He derived his descent from the former, and it was from him that Constantius the Elder, according to one account ([22]), derived his descent, his full name being Flavius Valerius Constan-

(20) For the time being, see the special appendix devoted to the examination of Noldeke's views in my forthcoming book "Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fourth Century". The complex problems of the Arab *phylarchia* and *basileia* will be thoroughly discussed in the series of three volumes which I am writing on Byzantium and the Arabs before the rise of Islam, especially the third.

(21) See his *ONOMA ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΣ*, *Byzantina Vindobonensia* (Vienna, 1978), Band X, p. 107 ; henceforth cited as *OB*.

(22) See *RE*. IV, 1040.

tius: his son Constantine the Great, inherited "Flavius" thus initiating the Dynasty of the Second Flavians.

I noted that "Flavius" dropped from the imperial titulature in A.D. 629 and also that that title had non-Christian and anti-Christian associations, reflected in such a contemporary document as Theodore Syncellus's homily and much earlier in Melito's letter to Marcus Aurelius. It was only then that I brought the two facts together suggesting that they were related, especially when viewed against the background of the intense Christian spirit of the age of Heraclius.

R. may deny that the two facts are related and I should like to remind him that it was with considerable reservation that I expressed myself on this point, speaking of "*possible* reasons" and writing "whether or not such thoughts crossed Heraclius's mind canot be established with certainty" (*Factor*, 305). But he may not say, as he does, that it is "absurd" to speak of "gegensatz zu christlichen Vorstellungen" thus choosing to be oblivious of the evidence provided in Melito's letter and Syncellus's homily. Furthermore, the phrase "Gegensatz zu christlichen Vorstellungen", enclosed as it is between two quotation marks, and thus purporting to be a faithful reproduction of my English prose, is to be found nowhere in this form (*Factor*, 304).

I should like also to remind R. (a) that I am not the only one who has spoken of the pagan character of part of the imperial titulature. The late F. Dölger considered that some titles were pagan and that they were dropped because of the piety of Christian scribes (*Factor*, p. 295, n; 3, and Appendix B, 318); (b) that long before he corrected Wolfram on the re-appearance of the title "Flavius" and its assumption later in the century by Justinianus II (p. 50, n. 87) I made the same observation (*Factor*, p. 317, n. 84); and (c) that instead of leaving the re-appearnce of the title unaccounted for, I tried to give an explanation for this phenomenon (*Factor*, 319, b.).

(2) R. did not read correctly what I said in (*Factor*, 312 ff.) judging from what he says in *OB* (the second paragraph of p. 107 and its footnote, 182). I spoke on p. 313 "of the steady growth of absolutism" not in the reign of Heraclius but in "the preceding centuries", the opposite of what he attributed to me. Thus I am in agreement with Alföldi (whom he cites to contradict me) since I speak of the "dyarchy" of the first *princeps*, Augustus, as "a

monarchy" (*Factor*, 315). I refer to acceleration in the growth of absolutism in the Christian Roman Empire and I do so only because it is a fact ; but in no way does it contradict what Alfoldi says on absolutism in the pagan Roman empire. When, after the Christianization of the Empire, the Roman *autokrator* became the "head of the Church" and "the delegate of God", surely this represented an enhancement of the absolutism inherited from his pagan Roman predecessor. For certain aspects of this enhancement related to Christianity, R. may find helpful what J. B. Bury wrote on it early in the century (23).

Dumbarton Oaks
Washington, D.C.

Irfan SHAHÎD.

(23) J. B. BURY, *op. cit.*, pp 112-119 ; *supra*, n. 5.

UNE NOMENCLATURE POUR LES ANONYMES DU CORPUS PSEUDO-CHRYSOSTOMIEN

Plus d'un millier d'ouvrages (1) sont attribués à tort à Jean Chrysostome, en grec ou en d'autres langues orientales (2).

Mais ces textes – dont l'écrasante majorité se présente sous forme d'homélies – n'appartiennent pas tous au même titre au corpus pseudo-chrysostomien.

Il y a lieu en effet de distinguer parmi eux trois grandes catégories (Voicu, 1981) : a) les ouvrages composites ; b) ceux pour lesquels nous pouvons remonter à un état plus ancien que l'état chrysostomien ; c) au moins 300 pièces qui ne semblent appartenir à aucun des deux groupes précédents.

Ce sont ces derniers ouvrages, ceux dont l'intégrité ne paraît pas contestable et dont nous ne connaissons aucun état pré-chrysostomien, qui sont le terrain de choix de la recherche pseudo-chrysostomienne. Puisque, du moins pour l'instant, aucune autre attribution ne vient remplacer celle des manuscrits, manifestement erronée, nous avons choisi d'appeler, avec un brin d'oxymoron, «anonymes pseudo-chrysostomiens» les auteurs de ces textes (3).

(1) Nous appelons «ouvrage» toute forme textuelle qui se présente comme étant indépendante – à l'exclusion donc des citations et extraits, et des démarquages et paraphrases dans le corps de pièces postérieures ; mais en incluant certaines formes littéraires bien définies, comme les *ethica*.

(2) Aucun répertoire ne donne un chiffre tant soit peu précis des textes pseudo-chrysostomiens tels qu'ils sont définis dans la note précédente Pour l'instant, la meilleure approximation paraît être l'addition des listes suivantes : a) Aldama (1965 ; 581 numéros édités en grec) ; b) *CPG*, 4840-5079 (140 inédits grecs) ; c) *CPG*, 5140-90 (une bonne centaine, malgré quelques doublets, de pièces transmises dans des langues orientales) ; d) les *Appendices* des *CCG*, I-III (73 + 11 + 50). Le total (955 pièces) doit être allégé de quelques doublets et extraits ; mais il faut y ajouter encore des attributions occasionnelles, les *ethica* grecs et arméniens, les inédits latins et orientaux non répertoriés et ceux qui sommeillent dans les futurs volumes des *CCG* ...

(3) Dans l'état actuel de nos connaissances il paraît qu'il faille accepter cet anonymat comme la condition définitive de maint dossier. Au moins deux auteurs

En préparant un exposé sur les problèmes du corpus pseudo-chrysostomien (VOICU, 1981) nous nous sommes trouvé devant la nécessité d'employer un système cohérent de renvois à ces textes anonymes. Le traitement des ouvrages isolés est simple : il suffit en général d'en donner le titre proposé par les CCG, avec l'indication d'une édition courante et d'un numéro de répertoire (habituellement celui de CPG).

Mais il n'y a pas que des ouvrages isolés dans le corpus pseudo-chrysostomien. Depuis les plus anciennes éditions on connaît des paires d'homélies dont la continuité chronologique ne fait guère de doute, la seconde renvoyant – d'habitude dans son exorde – de façon non équivoque à quelque aspect de la première (cf. par ex. pseudo-Chrysostome 1, 2, 16a-b et 21).

En d'autres cas, l'attribution de plusieurs ouvrages à un même auteur a été proposée, avec plus ou moins de bonheur, sur la foi d'arguments extrinsèques (proximité des pièces dans la tradition manuscrite ou dans les éditions imprimées) ou intrinsèques (marques de style).

La multiplication de tels dossiers, en soi fort bienvenue, pose cependant des problèmes pratiques dès qu'il est question d'y renvoyer ou de citer des ouvrages qui leur appartiennent. Car un auteur anonyme n'est défini que par l'énumération des pièces qui lui sont attribuées. Et cette énumération doit être exhaustive, certains ouvrages ayant été attribués à plusieurs dossiers (cf. par ex. pseudo-Chrysostome 13 et 14). L'uniformité et la concision des renvois en deviennent plus difficiles à assurer.

C'est pourquoi nous nous sommes décidé à dresser une sorte d'inventaire et à proposer une nomenclature qui permette de distinguer ces différents anonymes et de spécifier ce qui a été attribué à chacun d'entre eux.

différents (pseudo-Jean Chrysostome 14 et 20, auxquels il faut ajouter probablement pseudo-Chrysostome 16) sont attestés explicitement avant le Concile d'Éphèse (431). Très vraisemblablement ils étaient du nombre des personnalités ecclésiastiques qui ont eu quelque rôle à jouer dans la vie de Chrysostome, dont les noms sont connus grâce surtout au *Dialogue* de Pallade. Mais il nous manque le chaînon indispensable pour une identification rigoureuse : des échantillons textuels qui leur soient attribués nommément.

La meilleure solution, parce que plus flexible et plus neutre, paraît être de numéroter ces dossiers en série continue (4). Dans la liste qui suit on trouvera tous ceux dont nous avons eu connaissance dans le domaine grec, avec les pièces qui leur ont été attribuées, une bibliographie essentielle sur les problèmes d'attribution et un résumé de ce qu'on sait quant à leur date et à leur localisation géographique et théologique.

Dans quelques cas nous avons marqué notre désaccord avec des attributions qui nous semblent erronées en ajoutant un astérisque (*) en tête de notice. Toute affirmation dépourvue d'indication bibliographique provient de nos notes inédites (5).

Les dossiers répertoriés ici n'embrassent qu'une faible proportion des anonymes pseudo-chrysostomiens. Il faut donc prévoir leur multiplication aussi dans l'avenir. Pour que cette liste garde son homogénéité – et donc son utilité – nous proposons que tout dossier nouveau, mais aussi tout état modifié des 21 dossiers tels qu'ils sont définis ici, reçoive un numéro nouveau. Nous sommes disposé à assurer nous-même la coordination nécessaire pour éviter que le même numéro soit attribué à deux dossiers différents.

Rome. Sever J. VOICU.

Pseudo-JEAN CHRYSOSTOME 1 : auteur d'*In Genesim sermones 1-2* (*PG*, 56, 519-526 ; *CPG*, 4561 et 4197) d'après Montfaucon (*PG*, 56, 517-518).

L'exégèse des deux *Sermones* est assez nettement antiochienne ; mais nous n'avons aucun indice quant à leur date.

(4) Théoriquement un système plus parlant aurait pu être proposé, qui, par exemple, décrive brièvement les caractéristiques théologiques et exégétiques, la date et la localisation géographique de chaque auteur. Mais outre le fait que, du moins apparemment, certains dossiers sont très pauvres en données de ce genre (cf. par ex. pseudo-Chrysostome 17), il devient très compliqué de distinguer des auteurs assez proches, comme les quatre antiochiens que nous connaissons déjà (pseudo-Chrysostome 1, 14, 16 et 18).

(5) Certes, il est quelque peu incongru de renvoyer à des travaux non publiés, mais l'unicité d'un dossier, même de faible importance, peut exiger plusieurs pages de démonstrations, avec parallèles et contrépreuves, généreusement parsemées de citations grecques, ce qui ne manque pas de poser des problèmes concrets.

Leur auteur est peut-être identique à pseudo-Chrysostome 21.

L'unité du dossier a été niée par Altendorf (1957 : 87-92), qui voit en Sévérien de Gabala l'auteur du *Sermo 2*. A mon avis, ses arguments sont insuffisants.

Pseudo-Jean Chrysostome 2 : auteur de a) *De Ioseph et de castitate*, et b) *De Susanna sermo* (*PG*, 56, 587-594 ; *CPG*, 4566-67) d'après Montfaucon (*PG*, 56, 585-586). L'unicité du dossier est incontestable. Elle est confirmée par l'exorde de b), par la tradition manuscrite et le style des deux pièces.

Basile de Séleucie († après 468) a vraisemblablement utilisé a) dans son *Oratio 8. In Iosephum* (*PG*, 85, 112-125 ; Marx, 1940 : 56). Quoi qu'il en soit, les pièces sont antérieures au VIe siècle (*terminus ante quem* de la version copte).

*Pseudo-Jean Chrysostome 3 : auteur de a) *In illud : Collegerunt Iudaei* (*PG*, 59, 525-528 ; *CPG*, 4579), b) *In decem uirgines* (*PG*, 59, 527-532 ; *CPG*, 4580), et c) *In meretricem et pharisaeum* (*PG*, 59, 531-536 ; *CPG*, 4199) d'après Montfaucon (*PG*, 59, 525-526). L'unicité du dossier a été niée explicitement par Voicu (1971 : 101, n. 78), qui attribue a) à pseudo-Chrysostome 15.

A remarquer que l'attribution de c) à Sévérien de Gabala n'a aucun fondement. *CPG* dépend ici d'Aldama (1965 : 144, § 396), dont pourtant le renvoi à Altendorf (1957) est erroné – probablement un dédoublement de la notice concernant *CPG*, 4186 (Aldama, 1965 : 144, § 395) dont l'*incipit* est fort semblable à celui de c).

*Pseudo-Jean Chrysostome 4 : auteur de *In Pascha sermones, 1-7* (*PG*, 59, 723-756 ; *CPG*, 4606-12) d'après Montfaucon (*PG*, 59, 721-722). Mais il n'a été suivi par personne ; cf. pseudo-Chrysostome 11.

*Pseudo-Jean Chrysostome 5 : auteur de a) *In sanctam uirginem Deiparam* (*PG*, 59, 707-710), et b) *Contra haereticos et in sanctam Deiparam* (*PG*, 59, 709-714 ; *CPG*, 4603) d'après Montfaucon (*PG*, 59, 707-708). Mais a) est l'*Oratio*, 5 de Proclus (*PG*, 65, 716-721 ; *CPG*, 5804).

*Pseudo-Jean Chrysostome 6 : auteur de *De poenitentia sermones*, 1-3 (*PG*, 60, 681-708 ; *CPG*, 4615-17) d'après Montfaucon (*PG*, 60, 681-682), mais rien ne confirme son avis.

Pseudo-Jean Chrysostome 7 : auteur de *De ieiunio sermones*, 1-7 (*PG*, 60, 711-724 ; *CPG*, 4619) d'après Montfaucon (*PG*, 60, 711-712). C'est possible, mais il faudrait d'abord étudier de près le *Sermo 5*, publié aussi dans une rédaction différente (*De ieiunio* : *PG*, 62, 757-760 ; *CPG*, 4675).

*Pseudo-Jean Chrysostome 8 : auteur de *De patientia sermones*, 1-2 (*PG*, 60, 723-736 ; *CPG*, 4620-21) d'après Montfaucon (*PG*, 60, 723-724).

Mais, à mon avis, les deux pièces sont incompatibles du point de vue stylistique.

*Pseudo-Jean Chrysostome 9 : auteur de a) *In illud : Pater, si possibile est* (*PG*, 61, 751-756 ; *CPG*, 4654), b) *In natale Domini nostri Iesu Christi* (*PG*, 61, 763-768 ; *CPG*, 4657), c) *In centurionem* (*PG*, 61, 769-772 ; *CPG*, 4659), d) *In illud : Exiit qui seminat* (*PG*, 61, 771-776 ; *CPG*, 4660), et e) *De parabola uillici iniquitatis* (*PG*, 61, 785-788 ; *CPG*, 3260/2) d'après Marx (1940 : 36-37).

L'unicité du dossier a été niée par Voicu (1971 : 101, n. 78), qui attribue a) à pseudo-Chrysostome 15. Pour b) et d) cf. pseudo-Chrysostome 20. Astérius d'Amasée est l'auteur de e). A remarquer qu'Aldama (1965) a dû mal comprendre Marx, puisqu'à la place de e) il mentionne *In secundum aduentum D.N.I.C.* (*PG*, 61, 775-778 ; *CPG*, 5529).

Pseudo-Jean Chrysostome 10 : auteur de *De precatione orationes 1-2* (*PG*, 50, 775-786 ; *CPG*, 4516) d'après Weyer (1952 ; cf. Aldama, 1965).

Pseudo-Jean Chrysostome 11 : auteur de *In Pascha sermones 1-3* (*PG*, 59, 723-732 ; Nautin, 1953) d'après Nautin (1953).

Il serait un Alexandrin, ayant prêché entre 325 et 431 (Nautin, 1953).

Cf. pseudo-Chrysostome 4.

Pseudo-Jean Chrysostome 12 : auteur de a) *In diem secundam hebdomadae luminum*, et b) *Sermo in Psalmum 11* (Liébaert, 1969 : 56-126 ; *CPG*, 2082-83) d'après Liébaert (1969 : 16-32).

Il s'agit d'un anoméen. D'après Simonetti (1972 : 418) il serait postérieur à la crise nestorienne (431).

*Pseudo-Jean Chrysostome 13 : auteur de a) *Contra Iudaeos, Gentiles et haereticos* (*PG*, 48, 1075-80 ; *CPG*, 4506), b) *In uenerabilem crucem sermo* (*PG*, 50, 815-820 ; *CPG*, 4525), et c) *De Epiphania* (éd. partielle, Combefis, 1656 : 118-168 ; *CPG*, 4735) d'après Leroy (1970). L'unicité du dossier a été niée par Voicu (1971), qui attribue a) et b) à pseudo-Chrysostome 14, et c) à pseudo-Chrysostome 16.

Pseudo-Jean Chrysostome 14 : auteur de a) *Contra Iudaeos, Gentiles et haereticos* (*PG*, 48, 1075-80 ; *CPG*, 4506), b) *In uenerabilem crucem sermo* (*PG*, 50, 815-820 ; *CPG*, 4525), et c) *De eleemosyna* (*PG*, 60, 707-712 ; *CPG*, 4618) d'après Voicu (1971 : 69-90).

La pièce b) est antérieure à 422. L'exégèse est nettement antiochienne. Une localisation à Antioche même est probable (Voicu, 1971 : 87-88).

Pour a) et b) cf. pseudo-Chrysostome 13.

Pseudo-Jean Chrysostome 15 : auteur de a) *In illud : Collegerunt Iudaei* (*PG*, 59, 525-528 ; *CPG*, 4579), b) *In illud : Pater, si possibile est* (*PG*,

61, 751-756 ; *CPG*, 4654), et c) *In illud : Ignem ueni mittere in terram* (*CCG*, I, App. 2 ; cf. *PG*, 62, 739-742 ; *CPG*, 4669) d'après Voicu (1971 : 90-96).

Avec quelques réserves je serais tenté d'attribuer au même auteur aussi : d) *In illud : Hominis cuiusdam diuitis* (inédite ; *CPG*, 4969 ; cf. Voicu, 1976a : 502-3, n. 12).

Il date d'avant la moitié du VIe siècle (Voicu, 1976a : 502, n. 12). Il est curieux d'observer que a), b) et d) sont des plagiats. L'hétérogénéité de leurs sources (Basile, Amphiloque et pseudo-Chrysostome) suppose une datation relativement tardive, probablement dans la deuxième moitié du Ve siècle.

Pour a) cf. aussi pseudo-Chrysostome 3, pour b) pseudo-Chrysostome 9.

A remarquer que l'attribution de *De pharisaeo* (*PG*, 59, 589-592 ; *CPG*, 4589) au même dossier (Voicu, 1971 : 101) demeure toujours douteuse.

Pseudo-Jean Chrysostome 16 : auteur de a)-b) *In psalmum 50 homiliae 1-2* (*PG*, 55, 565-588 ; *CPG*, 4544-45, c) *De Epiphania* (éd. partielle, Combefis, 1656 : 118-168 ; *CPG*, 4735), d) *In illud : Sufficit tibi gratia mea* (*PG*, 59, 507-516 ; *CPG*, 4576), et e) *In illud : Si qua in Christo noua creatura* (*PG*, 64, 25-34 ; *CPG*, 4701) d'après Voicu (1976b).

Il s'agit d'un antiochien modéré ; peut-être localisé à Constantinople et cité par Cassien en 430 (Voicu, 1981).

Pour c) cf. aussi pseudo-Chrysostome 13.

L'attribution à Sévérien de Gabala de c) (Wenger, 1956 : 46) et de d) (par Dupin ; cf. Aldama, 1965 : 127, § 346) est dénuée de tout fondement. Celle de c) à Chrysostome lui-même (Halton, 1976) met bien en relief les rapports littéraires, très réels, entre celui-ci et notre pseudo-Chrysostome, mais omet de prendre en considération les arguments en sens contraire.

Pseudo-Jean Chrysostome 17 : auteur de a) *De eleemosyna* (*PG*, 60, 747-752 ; *CPG*, 4626), et b) *In illud : Attendite ne eleemosynam* (*PG*, 59, 571-574). La continuité des deux pièces est évidente à la lecture de l'exorde de b).

Peut-être faut-il attribuer au même auteur trois inédits : c) *In illud : Si enim dimiseritis hominibus peccata eorum* (*CPG*, 5019), d) *In illud : Cum oratis, nolite* (*CPG*, 4994), et e) *In illud : Qui uult inter uos primus esse* (*CPG*, 5020). Certains manuscrits, tel le Moscou, *Sinod. Bibl. gr.*, 128 (cxxix/*Vladimir*, 159), contiennent les cinq homélies, quoiqu'en désordre.

La lecture des deux pièces éditées ne nous apprend pratiquement rien sur leur auteur (Voicu, 1981).

Pseudo-Jean Chrysostome 18 : auteur de a) *In parabolam de filio prodigo* (*PG*, 59, 515-522 ; *CPG*, 4577), et b) *In illud : Simile est regnum caelorum patrifamilias* (*PG*, 59, 577-586 ; *CPG*, 4587) d'après Voicu (inédit), sur des arguments stylistiques assez faibles (exorde, prière finale).

La pièce b) est localisée à Antioche ; son exégèse est antiochienne modérée. La première moitié du ve siècle en est la date la plus vraisemblable (Voicu, 1978 : 341, n. 1, 344, n. 11).

L'attribution de b) à Proclus de Constantinople (Wenger, 1970 : 24, n. 1) est dépourvue de fondement.

Pseudo-Jean Chrysostome 19 : auteur de a) *In mediam hebdomadam ieiuniorum* (*PG*, 59, 701-704 ; *CPG*, 4601), et b) *In sabbatum ultimum ieiuniorum* (inédite, transmise seulement en syriaque ; cf. *CPG*, 5145) d'après F. Rilliet et J.-M. Sauget (communication personnelle).

Antérieur au viiie siècle (date du manuscrit syriaque).

Pseudo-Jean Chrysostome 20 : auteur, d'après des recherches en cours, de a) *De turture seu de ecclesia sermo* (*PG*, 55, 599-602 ; *CPG*, 4547), b) *In praecursorem Domini sermo* (*PG*, 59, 489-492 ; *CPG*, 4571), c) *De paenitentia* (*PG*, 60, 765-768 ; *CPG*, 4631), d) *In Zacchaeum publicanum* (*CCG*, I, App. 35 ; cf. *PG*, 61, 767-768 ; *CPG*, 4658), e) *In illud : Credidi propter quod locutus sum* (Haidacher, 1907 ; *CPG*, 4757), et f) *In illud : Nemo potest duobus dominis seruire* (inédite ; *CPG*, 5059).

Son exégèse est fortement allégorisante. La pièce a) est attestée dans la première moitié du ve siècle par une version arménienne. A remarquer que toutes les homélies sauf b) citent explicitement le *Physiologus*.

Au même dossier, sur la base cependant d'arguments de valeur inégale, pourraient appartenir : g) *In decollationem S. Ioannis Baptistae* (*PG*, 59, 485-490 ; *CPG*, 4570), h) *In parabolam de ficu* (*PG*, 59, 585-590 ; *CPG*, 4588, i) *De remissione peccatorum* (*PG*, 60, 759-764 ; *CPG*, 4629), j) *De non iudicando proximo* (*PG*, 60, 763-766 ; *CPG* 4630), k) *In Rachelem et in infantes* (*PG*, 61, 697-700 ; *CPG*, 4637), l) *In illud : Ascendit Dominus in templum* (*PG*, 61, 739-742 ; *CPG*, 4651), m) *In natale Domini nostri Iesu Christi* (*PG*, 61, 763-768 ; *CPG*, 4657), n) *In illud : Exiit qui seminat* (*PG*, 61, 771-776 ; *CPG*, 4660), o) *In drachmam et in illud : Homo quidam habebat* (*PG*, 61, 781-784 ; *CPG*, 4661), p) *Quod mari similis sit haec uita* (*PG*, 64, 19-22 ; *CPG*, 4699), q) *In illud : Simile est regnum caelorum grano sinapis* (*PG*, 64, 21-26 ; *CPG*, 4700), r) *In illud : Dominus regnauit* (éd. partielle, Nau, 1910 : 119-124 ; *CPG*, 4738),

s) *De fide et contra haereticos* (inédit ; *CPG*, 4917), et t) *De recens baptizatis* (DATEMA, 1978 : 153-162 ; *CPG*, 3238).

Les arguments favorables à l'unicité de ce dossier n'ont été publiés qu'en partie (DATEMA, 1978 : xvi-xvii ; VOICU, 1979 : 362-363).

Pseudo-JEAN CHRYSOSTOME 21 : auteur de *In Iob sermones 2-3* (*PG*, 56, 567-576 ; *CPG*, 4564), dont la continuité chronologique est indéniable. Il est peut-être identique à pseudo-Chrysostome 1.

L'hypothèse de Haidacher (1908) ne s'impose pas, d'après laquelle les deux pièces remanieraient une homélie perdue du Chrysostome authentique citée par Georges Cédrénus et Georges Hamartolos. A mon avis ces deux chroniqueurs byzantins dépendent directement des deux *Sermones* pseudo-chrysostomiens.

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NOTES ET INFORMATIONS

OÙ ÉTAIT RÉCITÉE LA PRIÈRE DE L'AMBON ?

A la fin de la messe byzantine, le célébrant sort du sanctuaire et se place devant l'icône du Christ pour y réciter une prière dont le sens et la fonction ne présentent aucune difficulté d'interprétation. Il s'agit, en effet, d'une prière tout à fait normale de bénédiction accompagnant le renvoi des fidèles (1). Ce qui est moins clair, c'est la signification exacte qu'il convient d'accorder au nom que la prière porte depuis le VIIIe siècle au moins : *εὐχὴ ὀπισθάμβωνος* (2), c'est-à-dire prière de derrière l'ambon. Pour quelles raisons l'ambon sert-il à qualifier une prière prononcée devant l'iconostase ? Et si la prière était à l'origine liée d'une quelconque manière à l'ambon, comment expliquer que, par la suite, le célébrant s'en soit éloigné pour venir la réciter devant les portes du sanctuaire ? Ce petit problème d'histoire liturgique n'a guère retenu l'attention des spécialistes. Pour certains, comme Braun ou Clugnet, la prière s'est toujours dite au même endroit et son nom dérive simplement du fait que le prêtre, à cette occasion, se trouvait d'une manière ou d'une autre derrière l'ambon, lorsque l'emplacement de ce dernier était au centre de l'église (3) ou dans le sanctuaire (4). D'autres, comme Brightman (5) ou T. F. Mathews (6),

(1) Texte dans F. E. BRIGHTMAN, *Liturgies Eastern and Western* ..., I : *Eastern Liturgies*, Oxford, 1896, pp. 397-398.

(2) Le terme est attesté pour la première fois dans l'Euchologe Barberini : cf. A. JACOB, *Les prières et l'ambon du Barber. gr. 336 et du Vat. gr. 1833*, dans *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome*, 37 (1966), p. 21 et 24.

(3) J. BRAUN, *Liturgisches Handlexikon*, 2e éd., Ratisbonne, 1924, p. 243

(4) L. CLUGNET, *Dictionnaire grec-français des noms liturgiques en usage dans l'Église grecque*, Paris, 1895, p. 243

(5) BRIGHTMAN, p. 600.

(6) T. F. MATHEWS, *The Early Churches of Constantinople. Architecture and Liturgy*, University Park et Londres, 1971, p. 173.

pensent que la prière a d'abord été récitée du côté occidental de l'ambon primitif, soit effectivement derrière l'ambon pour qui sort du sanctuaire, et quoiqu'ils ne disent rien sur les causes du transfert, on peut raisonnablement supposer qu'ils l'attribuent au déplacement ou à la disparition de l'ambon lui-même.

Dans un article récent, M. Gaetano Igor Passarelli a repris l'ensemble de la question et s'est efforcé de donner une solution acceptable tant au problème sémantique qu'au problème liturgique (7). Pour M. Passarelli, le mot *ἐπιστάμβωνος*, que l'Euchologe Barberini (VIIIe siècle) utilise de préférence à *ὀπισθάμβωνος*, est le terme primitif par lequel était désignée la prière de l'ambon. Il dérive selon lui, de l'expression *ἐπιστὰς ἄμβωνι* (8), et montre clairement que le prêtre gravissait les degrés de l'ambon pour y réciter la prière de renvoi des fidèles. Comme le liturgiste italien partage l'opinion de Brightman sur la signification du mot *ὀπισθάμβωνος*, il lui faut expliquer pourquoi l'officiant a quitté cette place privilégiée pour se rendre «derrière» l'ambon. A son avis, c'est la présence de l'icône du Christ au centre de l'église et, plus précisément, «derrière l'ambon», qui a provoqué le déplacement du lieu de récitation de la prière à l'époque de la crise iconoclaste : en renonçant à l'ambon pour venir réciter la prière devant l'icône du Christ, le clergé iconodoule manifestait d'une manière sensible son attachement aux images (9). Le *Barber. gr.* 336 est, au VIIIe siècle, le témoin privilégié de ce changement. Il est, en effet, le seul euchologe – toujours d'après M. Passarelli – à utiliser le terme *ἐπιστάμβωνος*, qui reflète l'usage primitif, mais l'on y relève déjà par deux fois l'emploi du mot *ὀπισθάμβωνος*, qui trahit l'introduction de la nouvelle discipline (10). Au Xe siècle, la pratique acclimatée par les iconodoules s'est généralisée dans toute l'Église byzantine. Par la suite, lorsque l'icône du Christ sera fixée à l'iconostase, c'est là que le célébrant prononcera la prière de renvoi des fidèles, dont le nom ne sera plus modifié.

Que faut-il penser de la théorie de M. Passarelli ? On ne peut certes lui refuser le mérite de la nouveauté et de l'originalité. Mais pour juger de sa valeur intrinsèque, il est nécessaire, pensons-nous, de la confronter avec les sources liturgiques, auxquelles l'auteur, absorbé dans ses réflexions sur

(7) G. I. PASSARELLI, *Osservazioni liturgiche*, dans *Bollettino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata*, N.S., 33 (1979), pp. 85-91.

(8) PASSARELLI, *Osservazioni*, p. 86.

(9) PASSARELLI, *Osservazioni*, pp. 90-91.

(10) PASSARELLI, *Osservazioni*, p. 91.

la place et l'importance des icônes, ne semble avoir prêté qu'une attention lointaine. Nous voudrions donc, dans les lignes qui suivent, passer en revue les témoignages que les textes liturgiques nous ont conservés sur la prière de l'ambon et voir s'ils confirment ou non l'interprétation donnée par M. Passarelli. Nous commencerons par l'examen du mot *ἐπιστάμβωνος*, qui constitue d'une certaine manière la pierre angulaire de son raisonnement.

Contrairement à ce que pense M. Passarelli, l'emploi du mot *ἐπιστάμβωνος* n'est pas limité à l'Euchologe Barberini. Personnellement, nous l'avons rencontré dans plusieurs euchologes nettement postérieurs à ce dernier. La liste des témoins du mot que nous donnons ci-dessous ne prétend évidemment pas être complète.

1) *Barberinianus gr.* 336 (VIIIe siècle, Italie méridionale) : *ἐπιστάμβωνος* y est employé sept fois, *ὀπισθάμβωνος* deux fois seulement (11) ; on ne doit accorder aucune importance aux graphies – *σθ* – et – *στ* –, qui sont absolument interchangeables tout au long du manuscrit.

2) *Codex Sancti Simeonis* (avant 1030, Palestine ?) : le manuscrit grec utilisé par Pelargus, si l'on en croit une note du traducteur, contenait la rubrique *ἐπισθ(άμβωνον) οἷον θέλει* (12).

3) *Cryptensis* Z.δ. II, f. 77^v (a.D. 1090, Calabre) : *ἐπιστάμβωναν* (sic) *κατὰ τὴν ἡμ(έραν) οἷον θ(έλει)*.

4) *Vaticanus gr.* 1875, f. 30^v (XIIe siècle, Calabre méridionale ou région de Messine) : *εὐχὴ τοῦ ἐπιστάμβωνος*.

5) *Messanensis gr.* 175, X, f. 11^r (XIIIe siècle, Italie méridionale) : *ὁ ἐπισθάμβων*.

6) *Ambrosianus*, C 7 sup., f. VIII^r (XVIe siècle, Terre d'Otrante) : *εὐχὴ ἐπισθάμβωνος* (13).

7) *Vaticanus gr.* 2032 (a.D. 1549, S. Pietro di Deca, au diocèse de Messine) : ce codex renferme une série de trente-trois prières de l'ambon (f. 174^r-183^r), qui y sont toutes désignées par le terme *ἐπισθάμβωνος* (14).

(11) JACOB, *Prières de l'ambon*, p. 18, note 1, et pp. 21-25

(12) A. JACOB, *Nouveaux documents italo-grecs pour servir à l'histoire du texte des prières de l'ambon*, dans *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome*, 38 (1967), p. 122 et note 3.

(13) A JACOB, *Les prières de l'ambon du Leningr. gr. 226*, dans *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome*, 42 (1972), p. 136.

(14) JACOB, *Nouveaux documents*, pp. 123-130.

que l'on relève également aux f. 11[v] (table des matières), 33[v] (Liturgie de saint Basile), 38[v] (Liturgie des Présanctifiés) et 199[v] (prière de l'ambon pour les défunts).

8) *Vaticanus gr.* 2051, f. 34[r] (vers 1560/61, S. Bartolomeo di Trigona, au diocèse de Mileto) : *καὶ ὁ ἱερεὺς τὴν εὐχὴν τὴν ἐπισθάμβωνον ἐκφωνουμένη < ν > εἰς ἐπήκοον πάντων* (Bénédiction de l'eau de l'Épiphanie).

9) *Parisinus gr.* 347, p. 16 (feuillets de papier ajoutés au XVIe siècle, Grèce) : *μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπισθάμβωνον εὐχήν* (Bénédiction de l'eau de l'Épiphanie).

Ces exemples, empruntés à des manuscrits d'origine diverse et couvrant une période d'environ neuf siècles, parlent d'eux-mêmes et suffisent à infirmer l'importance que M. Passarelli attribue au témoignage prétendûment unique de l'Euchologe Barberini. Nous reviendrons plus tard sur la signification du mot, dont il nous faut au préalable étudier la formation. Nous avons vu plus haut que M. Passarelli voit à l'origine d'*ἐπιστάμβωνος* l'expression *ἐπιστὰς ἄμβωνι*. Il n'y a pas lieu de s'attarder à cette étymologie, au regard de laquelle le *Cratyle* semble un traité de linguistique moderne. Pour désigner la superposition, le grec recourt d'ordinaire à un simple composé de la préposition *ἐπί*, à finale *-ος* ou *-ιος* [15], comme, par exemple, pour rester dans le domaine religieux, l'adjectif *ἐπιβώμιος*. Comme la phonétique grecque ne permet pas d'expliquer le passage du son *o* au son *e*, on ne peut justifier l'existence de la forme *ἐπιστάμβωνος* (*ἐπισθάμβωνος*) que par une adaptation consciente de l'adjectif *ὀπισθάμβωνος*, qui doit donc être considérée comme le terme primitif, de formation tout-à-fait régulière, désignant la prière de l'ambon.

La plupart des euchologes ne donnent absolument aucune indication sur l'endroit où se récite la prière de l'ambon et se limitent le plus souvent à fournir un simple titre ou une rubrique rudimentaire du genre : «Le prêtre dit la prière de l'ambon». La première précision topographique nous vient d'une *διάταξις* de Sainte-Sophie de Constantinople, qui remonte sans doute au IXe ou au Xe siècle ; le texte complet ne nous en a été conservé que dans une version latine médiévale, mais les rubriques ont été publiées par Goar dans leur texte grec d'après un manuscrit de Patmos, aujourd'hui perdu : *Ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς μετὰ ταῦτα ὄπισθεν τοῦ ἄμβωνος*

(15) Voir, par exemple, E. SCHWYZER et A. DEBRUNNER, *Griechische Grammatik* ..., II (*Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft* ..., Zweite Abteilung, I, 2), Munich, 1950, p. 473.

ἀπέρχεται [16] (*Pontifex post haec uadit retro lectorium*) [17]. Traduit littéralement, ce texte va plutôt dans le sens des théories de M. Passarelli, mais, comme nous le verrons plus loin, son sens est loin d'être aussi évident qu'il n'y paraît à première vue.

Au XIe siècle, la situation a changé radicalement. L'ancienne version géorgienne de la Liturgie de saint Jean Chrysostome (*Sinait. iber.* 89) prescrit au célébrant de «descendre sur la marche du sanctuaire» [18], c'est-à-dire vraisemblablement sur la soléa, pour y réciter la prière de renvoi. Il pourrait s'agir, objectera-t-on, d'un usage propre à la Palestine. Mais on constate qu'il est déjà en vigueur dans la grande église de Constantinople dans le troisième quart du siècle suivant, puisque nous lisons chez Léon Toscan la rubrique suivante : *Tunc dicit sacerdos orationem hanc ante cancellos* [19]. Le témoignage de Léon Toscan est confirmé par une source contemporaine de même origine, la διάταξις pontificale du *Londinensis Brit. Libr. Add.* 34060, où l'on voit l'évêque célébrant déléguer un prêtre pour dire la prière de l'ambon devant les portes du sanctuaire : *Καὶ κειμένου ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἁγίων θυρῶν τοῦ ἱερέως τὴν τοῦ ὀπισθάμβωνος εὐχὴν ὀφείλοντος εἰπεῖν, σφραγίζει τοῦτον ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς λέγων* [20]. A cette époque, il n'est évidemment pas question d'iconostase dans le sens actuel du mot [21]. Il nous faut dès lors exclure de la façon la plus catégorique l'existence à date ancienne d'une connexion entre la récitation de la prière de l'ambon et l'icône du Christ. Il faudra d'ailleurs attendre longtemps, fort exactement jusqu'à la fin du siècle dernier, pour voir apparaître la mention de l'icône du Seigneur dans les rubriques relatives à la prière de

(16) J. GOAR, *Εὐχολόγιον sive Rituale Graecorum* ..., 2e éd., Venise, 1730, p. 156.

(17) I. COCHLAEUS, *Speculum antiquae deuotionis circa missam, et omnem alium cultum Dei* ..., Mayence, 1549, p. 132.

(18) A. JACOB, *Une version géorgienne inédite de la Liturgie de saint Jean Chrysostome*, dans *Le Muséon*, 77 (1964), p. 117.

(19) A. JACOB, *La traduction de la liturgie de saint Jean Chrysostome par Léon Toscan. Édition critique*, dans *Orientalia christiana periodica*, 32 (1966), p. 161.

(20) G. M. ARABATZOGLOU, *Φωτιεῖος Βιβλιοθήκη* ..., II, Constantinople, 1935, p. 240 ; R. TAFT, *The Pontifical Liturgy of the Great Church according to a Twelfth-century Diataxis in Codex «British Museum Add. 34060»*, dans *Orientalia christiana periodica*, 45 (1979), p. 306.

(21) On trouvera un aperçu détaillé sur l'évolution de l'iconostase, ainsi que l'abondante bibliographie du sujet, dans M. CHATZIDAKIS, art. *Ikonostas*, dans *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst*, III [1973], c. 326-353 (voir surtout c. 347-349).

l'ambon. La première disposition de ce genre que nous ayons rencontrée se trouve dans un missel imprimé à Tripoli, au Liban, en 1892 (22). Il est probable que cette rubrique n'ait fait que codifier une coutume déjà ancienne, mais, étant donné le silence des sources antérieures, il est tout de même fort peu vraisemblable que l'usage en question puisse remonter à l'époque de la querelle des images. L'interprétation que M. Passarelli donne des vicissitudes de la prière de l'ambon doit donc être considérée, en définitive, comme une projection arbitraire sur le passé d'un usage récent.

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Pour expliquer le sens exact du mot *ὀπισθάμβωνος*, il n'est pas besoin de recourir à des hypothèses alambiquées. Au XVIIe siècle déjà, Du Cange avait parfaitement compris que la pratique primitive était de réciter la prière sur l'ambon et non, comme on l'a cru généralement depuis, dans la nef, sur le côté occidental de l'ambon. Commentant le poème de Paul le Silentiaire sur l'ambon de Sainte-Sophie, voici comment Du Cange évoque la prière *ὀπισθάμβωνος* :

> *Hanc igitur orationem recitaturus sacerdos bemate egreditur, ambonemque conscendit ab orientali aditu, et ad populum convertitur ad occidentem, quae pars est ambonis postica et sinistra, respectu bematis* (23).

De fait, la partie occidentale de la plate-forme de l'ambon porte le nom de *τὰ ὄπισθεν* ou *τὸ ὄπισθεν μέρος*, tandis que la partie qui regarde vers l'orient est désignée par l'expression *τὰ ἔμπροσθεν* (24). On remarquera, du reste, que l'*ordo* constantinopolitain du *Londinensis Brit. Libr. Add.* 34060 ne parle pas d'une *εὐχὴ ὀπισθάμβωνος*, mais d'une *εὐχὴ τοῦ ὀπισθάμβωνος* (25). Le substantif *ὀπισθάμβων* (= partie postérieure de

(22) *Καὶ ὁ ἱερεὺς ἀναγινώσκει μεγαλοφώνως τὴν ὀπισθάμβωνον εὐχὴν ταύτην ἔξωθεν τοῦ βήματος ἔμπροσθεν τῆς εἰκόνος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ* (*Ἡ θεία Λειτουργία περιέχουσα ... τὰς τρεῖς Λειτουργίας ...*, 4e éd., Tripoli, 1892, p. 56). Un *Ἱερατικόν* imprimé à Constantinople en 1895 porte une rubrique équivalente (pp. 85-86) : *Καὶ ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐξελθὼν τῆς ἁγίας Πύλης, καὶ στὰς πρὸ τῆς δεσποτικῆς εἰκόνος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐκφωνεῖ τὴν εὐχὴν ταύτην, τὴν λεγομένην ὀπισθάμβωνον.*

(23) Ch. DU CANGE, *Descriptio Ecclesiae S. Sophiae ... seu in Paulum Silentiarium uberior commentarius*, dans *Patrol. Graeca* 86, c. 2239 B.

(24) E. M. ANTONIADÈS, *Ἔκφρασις τῆς Ἁγίας Σοφίας ...*, II, Athènes, 1908, p. 50.

(25) Cf. ci-dessus, p. 310.

l'ambon) est déjà attesté au xe siècle dans le *Leninopolitanus gr.* 226 (26) et a fini par signifier la prière elle-même, comme, par exemple, dans le *Bodleianus Auct.* E.5.13 (xiie siècle) (27).

A l'appui de son interprétation, Du Cange ne cite aucune source liturgique byzantine. Comme nous l'avons vu, les rubriques les plus anciennes, par ailleurs fort rares, ne donnent que peu de détails sur les rites qui entourent la récitation de la prière de l'ambon. Il convient cependant de produire ici un texte peu connu, qui illustre et confirme dans une certaine mesure l'explication fournie par Du Cange. Il s'agit d'un rituel de consécration du myron contenu dans l'euchologe italo-grec de Sainte-Marie du Patir (*Vat. gr.* 1970 et *Crypt. Z.δ.* CXIX, xiie siècle) (28) ; il provient sans doute du patriarcat de Jérusalem et nous livre un état du texte certainement plus ancien que le manuscrit qui nous l'a conservé. La cérémonie est structurée sur le modèle de la synaxe eucharistique, dont elle suit le déroulement pas à pas : anaphore, oraison dominicale, prière d'inclination, prière avant l'élévation, élévation du myron et rites de renvoi. Après l'exclamation *Τὸ ἁγιασθὲν μύρον ἅγιον τοῖς ἁγίοις*, l'évêque prend le vase du saint chrême et monte à l'ambon ; il bénit solennellement le peuple avec le myron, en faisant le tour des quatre côtés de l'ambon (*ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων μερῶν γυρεύσας τὸν ἄμβωνα*), puis récite à haute voix la prière de l'ambon ; la prière terminée, l'évêque redescend de l'ambon et se rend au skeuophylakion (29). Ce témoignage est extrêmement intéressant puisqu'il est le seul, à notre connaissance, qui parle explicitement de la montée à l'ambon du célébrant. La position de ce dernier sur l'ambon au moment où il prononce la prière de renvoi n'est pas précisée par le rubricateur et, comme nous ne connaissons pas la place qu'occupait l'ambon dans l'église dont il est question, nous ne pouvons que faire des hypothèses à ce propos. On notera tout de même que la prière de l'ambon est une formule de bénédiction générale, qui récapitule en quelque sorte toutes les demandes faites au cours de la messe et s'adresse à toutes les

(26) A. Jacob, *L'Euchologe de Porphyre Uspenski. Cod. Leningr. gr. 226 (Xe siècle)*, dans *Le Muséon*, 78 (1965), n° 124.

(27) A. Jacob, *Un euchologe du Saint-Sauveur «in Lingua Phari» de Messine : le Bodleianus Auct. E.5.13*, dans *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome*, 50 (1980), n°s 1.30, 2, 3.15.

(28) Édité dans A. Jacob, *Cinq feuillets du «Codex Rossanensis» (Vat. gr. 1970) retrouvés à Grottaferrata*, dans *Le Muséon*, 87 (1974), pp. 45-57.

(29) Jacob, *Cinq feuillets*, pp. 55-56.

personnes présentes dans l'église (30), non seulement aux fidèles, mais également aux pénitents et aux catéchumènes qui se tenaient dans le narthex pendant l'anaphore (31). Il est donc plus que probable que le célébrant choisissait toujours la partie occidentale de l'ambon pour y réciter la prière finale de renvoi. Une dernière remarque concerne le nom de la prière, qui n'est pas désignée dans ce rituel de consécration du myron par le terme ὀπισθάμβωνος, mais par son synonyme ἀπολυτικός (32). La parfaite identité des deux adjectifs ne fait aucun doute. En 1027, le rédacteur constantinopolitain du *Paris. Coisl.* 213 utilise indifféremment l'un ou l'autre pour désigner les quelque dix prières de l'ambon de son recueil (33).

Il nous faut maintenant tenter de comprendre comment l'on a pu, dans certains manuscrits, passer de la forme ὀπισθάμβωνος à la forme ἐπισθάμβωνος, inexpliquable du point de vue phonétique et par ailleurs trop fréquente pour qu'on la mette sur le compte d'un simple accident de copie. Soulignons, avant toute autre démarche, la coexistence des deux formes dans l'Euchologe Barberini, où leur juxtaposition semble bien exclure toute différence de signification. A notre avis, la forme ἐπισθάμβωνος n'a pu voir le jour que dans un milieu où le célébrant montait encore à l'ambon pour la récitation de la prière de renvoi, mais où l'on ne percevait plus le sens exact du mot ὀπισθάμβωνος. Ce dernier devait apparaître particulièrement énigmatique aux prêtres de province qui ne connaissaient par les églises des grands centres ecclésiastiques et des ambons aussi

(30) Voir, par exemple, l'explication que donne de la prière de l'ambon la recension longue de l'*Historia ecclesiastica* (*Patrol. Graeca*, 98, c. 452 C).

(31) Ch. Du Cange, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae graecitatis*, I, Lyon, 1668, c. 59.

(32) Jacob, *Cinq feuillets*, p. 55, n° 10.

(33) A. Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie liturgičeskih rukopisej hranjaščihsja v bibliotekah pravoslavnago Vostoka*, II : *Εὐχολόγια*, Kiev, 1901, pp. 1013-1014. Le mot ὀπισθάμβωνος est absent des témoins les plus anciens, non encore byzantinisés, de la liturgie syro-palestinienne de saint Jacques, comme la version géorgienne des manuscrits de Gratz (M. Tarchnišvili, *Liturgiae ibericae antiquiores. Textus* [*Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium*, 122], Louvain, 1950, pp. 31-32) et Tiflis (K. Kekelidze, *Drevne-gruzinskij arhieratikon. Gruzinskij tekst*, Tiflis, 1912, pp. 83-84) ou le *Vat. gr.*, 2282 (B.-Ch. Mercier, *La liturgie de saint Jacques. Édition critique du texte grec avec traduction latine* [*Patrol. Orient.*, XXVI, 2], Paris, 1946, p. 240) ; ce fait semble bien confirmer l'origine constantinopolitaine de l'adjectif, dont la naissance est sans doute postérieure à la construction de l'ambon de Sainte-Sophie sous le règne de Justinien.

spacieux que celui de Sainte-Sophie de Constantinople, capable d'accueillir jusqu'à la cérémonie du couronnement impérial. Pour ceux qui ne disposaient que d'un ambon de dimensions modestes, parler d'une partie antérieure ou d'une partie postérieure de l'estrade n'avait aucun sens. Devenu incompréhensible, comme il le sera plus tard à la plupart des commentateurs modernes, le mot *ὀπισθάμβωνος* a été transformé de manière assez gauche en *ἐπισθάμβωνος*, dans la tentative de le rendre plus immédiatement conforme à la réalité liturgique de la montée à l'ambon.

Nous avons évoqué dans la première partie de cette note quelques textes du XIe et du XIIe siècle qui montrent bien que la prière de l'ambon était déjà récitée alors à l'entrée du sanctuaire. Nous avons dit aussi que la querelle des images n'est pour rien dans ce changement. Dès lors, à quoi faut-il l'attribuer ? Nous ne pensons pas que le transfert ait été provoqué par quelque modification dans la conception que l'on se faisait de la prière. Certes, il semble bien qu'à partir du XIe siècle on lui ait accordé moins d'importance dans l'économie de la synaxe eucharistique. Alors que les euchologes italo-grecs du Xe siècle renferment des séries de prières *ὀπισθάμβωνοι* impressionnantes qui dépassent parfois la trentaine (34), on constate que le nombre des formules diminue progressivement dans les manuscrits des siècles suivants (35) ; une rubrique de l'euchologe du Saint-Sauveur de Messine (peu après 1131) interdit même la récitation de toute prière de l'ambon qui ne soit pas la formule traditionnelle *Ὁ εὐλογῶν τοὺς εὐλογοῦντάς σε* (36). A Constantinople aussi, des signes de désaffection à l'égard de la prière apparaissent. Au Xe siècle, c'est le patriarche en

(34) Comme les *Cryptenses Γ.β.*, IV, VII et X (T. MINISCI, *Le preghiere ὀπισθάμβωνοι dei codici criptensi*, dans *Bollettino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata*, N.S., 2 [1948], pp. 65-75 et 117-126 ; 3 [1949], pp. 3-10, 61-66, 121-132 et 185-194 ; 4 [1950], pp. 3-14), le *Vat. gr.* 1833 (JACOB, *Les prières de l'ambon du Barber. gr. 336 et du Vat. gr. 1833*, pp. 28-49) et le *Leningr gr 226* (JACOB, *Les prières de l'ambon du Leningr. gr. 226*, pp 115-131).

(35) Le phénomène n'est pas absolument uniforme et comporte l'une ou l'autre exception ; au XIIe siècle, par exemple, l'euchologe otrantais de Galatone compte encore vingt-sept prières (JACOB, *Les prières de l'ambon du Leningr. gr. 226*, pp. 132-133). Il convient d'ajouter ici que les prières de l'ambon connaissent un nouveau succès en Italie méridionale au XVIe siècle, ainsi qu'en témoignent les longues séries des *Vat. gr.* 2007 (JACOB, *Les prières de l'ambon du Leningr. gr. 226*, p. 134), 2032 et 2052 (JACOB, *Nouveaux documents*, pp. 120-131), et des *Corsiniani* 41.E.29 et 41.E.31 (JACOB, *Nouveaux documents*, pp. 131-139).

(36) JACOB, *Un euchologe du Saint-Sauveur «in Lingua Phari»*, n° 2.

personne qui prononçait la prière de l'ambon [37], tandis que, deux siècles plus tard, l'évêque qui célèbre la Liturgie dans la grande église délègue un prêtre à cet effet [38].

A notre avis, l'explication doit être recherchée dans le cadre plus général d'une réduction progressive et systématique des évolutions des ministres au cours de l'action liturgique. Parmi les diverses causes qui ont provoqué la naissance de ce phénomène, que l'on observe dans tous les rites d'Orient et d'Occident – l'ancienne messe basse du rite romain en est peut-être la manifestation la plus caractéristique –, il faut retenir avant tout l'exiguïté des églises secondaires, la loi du moindre effort et, sans doute aussi, le désir de concentrer dans le sanctuaire, espace sacré par excellence, les différentes parties de la synaxe eucharistique. Le repli de la prière de l'ambon ne procède donc d'aucune motivation théologique precise et n'a certainement pas été provoqué par la victoire des images, mais s'insère assez naturellement dans l'évolution normale des cérémonies liturgiques.

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(37) GOAR, p. 156 ; COCHLAEUS, *Speculum antiquae deuotionis*, p. 132.

(38) ARABATZOGLOU, *Φωτιεῖος Βιβλιοθήκη*, II, p. 240 ; TAFT, *The Pontifical Liturgy of the Great Church*, p. 306

A NOTE ON THE DATE OF THE SACRA PARALLELA (PARISINUS GRAECUS 923)

The richly illustrated manuscript of John of Damascus's *Sacra Parallela*, brought from Istanbul to Paris by Abbé Sevin in 1730 and now in the collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale, has both excited and puzzled subsequent generations of Byzantine art historians. The problems of its date and provenance still appear far from being resolved. Most recently the subject has been taken up by André Grabar, who has proposed that the manuscript is Italian in origin (1), and Kurt Weitzmann, who has argued that it was written in Palestine, probably at the San Sabas monastery (2). Both scholars agree on a ninth-century date. It is not my intention to enter into this debate between east and west, but there is one chronological indication, thus far overlooked, which may be of some assistance in dating the manuscript with greater precision.

On three occasions (fols. 131v/278v, and 325r) the manuscript depicts the head and shoulders of a figure whom Weitzmann has identified from the text as Methodios, an early-fourth century bishop of Olympus in Lycia. In two of the three examples (WEITZMANN, figs. 727, 728) the bishop is portrayed with a close-fitting white hood that covers his head and ties beneath his chin. Weitzmann explains this as an error on the part of the artist, since this form of hood is normally found only in portrayals of the patriarchs of Alexandria (3), for example the depictions of Athanasios elsewhere in the same manuscript (WEITZMANN, figs. 540-544).

The artist has indeed been confused, but the confusion is not with a patriarch of Alexandria as Weitzmann suggests, but rather with another Methodios : Methodios the champion of orthodoxy against iconoclasm, and patriarch of Constantinople from 843 to 847. Two portraits of this ninth-century patriarch in St. Sophia, Istanbul, depict him in the same fashion, which is to say with a close-fitting hood tied beneath his chin.

(1) André GRABAR, *Les manuscrits grecs enluminés de provenance italienne (IXe-XIe siècles)*, (Paris, 1972), 21-24.

(2) Kurt WEITZMANN, *The Miniatures of the Sacra Parallela* (Princeton, 1979), 20-23.

(3) *Ibid.*, 249.

The first is a lost mosaic from the north tympanum, one of the series of church fathers which date from the last quarter of the ninth century, known from drawings made by the Swiss architects Gaspare and Giuseppe Fossati who were responsible for restorations to the building in the years 1847-1849 (4). The second is the fragmentary mosaic, also from the second half of the ninth century, which has survived in the room over the southwest vestibule (5). This curious head-covering was apparently not a patriarchal hood at all, but rather a bandage which Methodios found it necessary to wear after his jaws were broken and his teeth pulled out in one of the persecutions of iconophiles undertaken by the emperor Theophilos (6).

This manner of depicting Methodios, regardless of which bishop of this name was intended, provides useful information concerning the date of the illuminations. The artist cannot have depicted Methodios in this fashion before the persecution under Theophilos which made the bandage necessary, and it is unlikely that this manner of portraying the champion of orthodoxy would have arisen before his tenancy of the patriarchate (843-847). The illuminator of the manuscript has evidently been influenced or confused by depictions of the patriarch which he had either seen himself or heard about from others, and this would not have been likely before Methodios's death. Indeed, the two other examples which have survived in St. Sophia are a generation removed. This suggests that the Paris manuscript of the *Sacra Parallela* is not contemporary with the Paschalian mosaic decorations in Rome (817-824) as Weitzmann suggests, but rather that it should be placed in the second half of the ninth century, a date which has also been preferred on the basis of palaeography and style by Robin Cormack (7).

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(4) The Fossati drawings are published by Cyril MANGO, *Materials for the Study of the Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul* (Dumbarton Oaks, 1962), 51-54, and pls. 61, 66-68, 74. For the dating of the tympanum decorations see Cyril MANGO and Ernest HAWKINS, "The Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul : the church fathers in the north tympanum", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 26 (1972), 1-41.

(5) See Robin CORMACK and Ernest HAWKINS, "The Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul : the rooms above the southwest vestibule and ramp", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 31 (1977), 175-251, pl. 40.

(6) See MANGO, *Materials*, 52-53.

(7) Robin CORMACK, "The arts during the age of Iconoclasm", *Iconoclasm* (Birmingham, 1977), 35-44, esp. 44.

AN OVERLOOKED VICAR OF ASIA OF THE FOURTH CENTURY

Clearchus of Thesprotia had a distinguished career in government in the second half of the fourth century : vicar of the diocese of Asia and then proconsul of the province of Asia in the 360s, he went on to serve as urban prefect at Constantinople in the early 370s and again in the early 380s and was consul with Richomer in 384 (1). In a letter to Clearchus of the year 364, Libanius informs us that Clearchus' father had also had a career in public service and had held countless offices, *μυρίας ἀρχάς* (*Epp.*, 1179 Foerster). It seems to have escaped notice that in another passage Libanius tells us what one of those "countless offices" was. The passage is the opening of *Epp.*, 1188, also written in 364 : *παρῆλθεν ὁ Κλέαρχος τὸν πατέρα τῇ περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπιμελείᾳ. χρηστὸς μὲν κἀκεῖνος καὶ δίκαιος καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀρχομένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κρίνων συμφέρον, ἀλλ' ἥ γε τοῦ παιδὸς ὀξυτέρα διάνοια καὶ δι' ὧν ἂν εὐδαιμονήσαιεν πόλεις δεινὴ μᾶλλον συνιδεῖν*. Both Seeck and *PLRE*, I cite *Epp.*, 1188 as one of a number of references to Clearchus' vicariate of Asia of the years 363-366. But this letter also reveals that Clearchus' father, too, had been a vicar of Asia : because of his sharper administrative talent, Clearchus' performance as vicar surpassed the earlier achievement of his father in the same office.

It might be maintained that the phrase *τῇ περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπιμελείᾳ* applies only to Clearchus. The first sentence of *Epp.*, 1188 would then have to be translated "Clearchus, by his administration of the diocese of Asia, outdid his father [in governance]". But the more obvious and natural way to construe the dative phrase here is to understand it as denoting the common field of endeavor in reference to which Clearchus and his father are compared. Nor should we hesitate to reject, as a forced interpretation, the possibility that "Asia" refers simultaneously to a vicariate of Clearchus

(1) O. Seeck, *Die Briefe des Libanius* (1906), 108-109 ; A. H. M. Jones *et al.*, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, I (1971) [= *PLRE*, I], s.v. "Clearchus 1".

and a proconsulate of Clearchus' father. Therefore, we may add to the list of vicars of Asia in *PLRE*, I (pp. 1081-82) the entry "Anonymus, father of Clearchus 1, before 363" (2).

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(2) Clearchus' father should also be added to the list of anonymi in *PLRE*, I, p. 1004 ff.

CHRONIQUE

IN SEARCH FOR THE HEART OF BYZANTIUM

ABOUT SEVERAL RECENT BOOKS ON BYZANTINE CIVILIZATION

Previous generations of scholars sought an understanding of the Byzantine empire by turning primarily to its political history. But the modern world has grown lukewarm to the history of events. It is surprising to note that the standard work on this subject, George Ostrogorsky's *History of the Byzantine State* ("the best handbook on Byzantine history", as Cyril Mango rightly calls it) was issued as early as 1940, albeit re-modelled in 1952, and slightly corrected in 1963. It is not because it is flawless that it has not been replaced these forty years, for many a point in Ostrogorsky's concept of Byzantium now appears disputable. The longevity of the book's career is due, first and foremost, to the fact that our generation does not relish the history of wars, upheavals, and religious disputes. We do not believe that the genuine core of the past can be unravelled by even the finest analysis of political events. We are edging towards a history of civilization, in other words that of the Man, and it is far from being incidental that the first part of Alain Ducellier's *Le drame de Byzance* (Éditions Hachette, 1976) is entitled *A la recherche de l'homme quotidien*. At the same time the principles of the history of Byzantine civilization have changed considerably during the last years. The standard book came from the pen of Steven Runciman in 1933 and has been reproduced in a different form and in different languages. Runciman's book begins with a historical outline, and then presents a sequence of independent characteristics of Imperial power, Administration, Religion and Church, Army, Commerce, Town and country life, Education, Literature and Art, while the last chapter deals with relationship of the Empire to the neighboring world. Approximately the same structure is to be found in both the *Byzantium*, edited by N. H. Baynes and H. St. L. B. Moss in 1948 and re-published in 1962, and in the *Cambridge Medieval History*, IV, 2, produced in 1967 : Government and

Law, Social life, Church and monasticism, Literature, science and art, and Byzantium's place in the medieval world – all these used to be indispensable elements of a multi-storied construction, where no staircase led from one floor to another.

Louis Bréhier's three-volume *Le Monde byzantin* (Paris, 1947-50, re-published in 1969-70) has different titles but hardly distinguishable structure : after the history of political events (vol. I : *Vie et mort de Byzance*) follows the book on Institutions that encompasses Imperial power, Administration and Church, while the last tome is devoted to Urban life, the countryside and trade, Religion and superstitions, Literature, science, education and art. It is perhaps one section that stays aside of traditional scheme – *La vie privée*, which includes the family and the everyday life. It needed however time to appreciate the importance of both subjects. Not only the book's structure remained traditional, but also its approach : as in Runciman's, here too particular topics were isolated in their cages, and Byzantium was presented as a sum or list of separated items rather than a coherent, "functioning" model.

The real change started with Herbert Hunger's *Reich der neuen Mitte* (Graz, Vienna, Cologne, 1965), my *Vizantijskaja kul'tura* (Moscow, 1968) (German translation – *Byzanz und seine Kultur*, Berlin, 1973) and André Guillou's *La civilisation byzantine* (Paris, 1974) where Byzantine civilization ceased to be a sum of its independent parts, but was presented as a coherent system. It is worth recalling the content of the book of Guillou, whom Mango calls "more modern and incisive in approach". There is no place for a political survey which opens both Runciman's *Civilization*, and the *Byzantium*, and which takes a significant place in many books on Byzantine culture, such as those by H. W. Haussig (Stuttgart, 1957, re-published and translated into Italian, English and French), K. Wessel (Frankfurt a M., 1970), or P. Arnott (London, 1973). Even the recent book of Robert Browning *The Byzantine Empire* (Ch. Scribner's Sons, New York, 1980), where cultural events are inserted into each of five historical sections, is a political history rather than that of society. If Browning searches for the explanations of major changes, his gaze is directed to political and economic factors without the framework of Byzantium itself – from improvements in sea-going ships to climatic changes in central Asia, or to universal not-specifically-Byzantine factors, such as growing independence of landed proprietors or debasement of the coinage (p. 209). In Guillou political confrontations are restricted to minimum. Instead we have a survey of Byzantine historical geography.

Then four sections follow : State, Society, Economics, and (spiritual) Culture – quite different from the traditional set of chapters typical of older books on Byzantine civilization. Ducellier's book has a rather diverse and more complex structure : its first section is devoted to Man in everyday life, comprising the human attitude towards the *oecumene*, society, morality, and aesthetic values ; the second section is concerned with Byzantine self-consciousness, that is the ideal of the Empire as it was built by its citizens and rulers and their attitudes towards barbarian inhabitants of the Earth ; and the last section deals with the supernatural world – God, the Devil and the limits of human reason. I do not wish to discuss the merits and demerits of either scheme ; what matters now is that they both aim at an understanding of the Byzantine system of life and thinking ; and that this system is presented as a coherent phenomenon rather than a sum of independent items or an interchange of historical events. Hunger, Guillou and Ducellier have led us to the threshold of new approach to the problems of Byzantine civilization, to the search for the heart of Byzantium, and now Hans Georg Beck and Cyril Mango follow suit. Beck's book is entitled *Das byzantinische Jahrtausend* ; it was published in Munich 1978 by the Verlag C. H. Beck, and so only just figures in the bibliography of Mango's *Byzantium. The Empire of New Rome* (Weidenfeld & Nicholson, London, 1980) although I doubt very much that he really had time to use it.

It is hard to imagine two more contrasting books than those of Beck and Mango. Beck's work is a kind of the philosophy of Byzantine civilization. He enjoys sophisticated formulations, paradoxical statements, and is more critical than constructive. He does not attempt a complete picture : "Vollständigkeit habe ich keinen Augenblick angestrebt" – so Beck begins his preface (p. 7), and that is by no means false modesty : he simply does not wish to offer more than *Bemerkungen* to such a momentous phenomenon as Byzantine society : "Wir sind," so Beck, "glaube ich, von einer Geschichte der byzantinischen Gesellschaft, die wirklich diesen Namen verdient, noch weit entfernt" (p. 232). Incidentally, I remember a dispute with Beck in Munich, in November 1978, after my paper on Byzantine literature, when my opponent affirmed that we were very far from creating a history of Byzantine literature, which was worth the name, because we had no evidence available that could be compared with the wealth of data surrounding modern literatures. Indeed, he is right on both counts – but he has still devoted a comprehensive chapter on Byzantine literature, rather than mere

Bemerkungen. We are very far from the history of Byzantine society which can satisfy the requirements of contemporary sociology, but within the limitations of our sources, we can – and indeed must – tackle the nature of Byzantine society, for otherwise I am afraid we shall impoverish our image of Byzantine theology, literature, monasticism or imperial power – which existed within society and not in a vacuum. But I am the last to blame Beck for not being exhaustive : it is his approach, and his approach is absolutely organic and consistent. We have numerous reference-books which attempt comprehensiveness, but so few attempts to think of Byzantium.

Beck's book has no chapter on art ; Mango, of course, includes an art section in his – as well as commenting on Byzantine monuments in other chapters too. For Mango's whole approach is graphic and visual. What he pursues is a vista of Byzantium, a series of images displayed in a logical order, rather than a philosophy. His path is from the image to conclusion. He reads the tenth-century Life of Saint Basil and really *sees* that all the action takes place indoors (p. 82), while the sixth-century Life of Saint Symeon the Fool displays numerous scenes of street life (p. 64 f.). The conclusion is important : essential changes in urban life have taken place, by the tenth century its most striking feature is that privacy has replaced the public life of the past.

In style, Beck's peculiar skill lies in his precise and fine definitions, while Mango's essential virtue consists in the creation of palpable images. These predilections determine both Beck's specific interest in rhetoric (pp. 152-62), and Mango's continual use of the most «visual» of Byzantine literary genres – hagiography. But the distinction between the two books is more than purely stylistic : Beck emphasizes the unity of the Byzantine phenomenon, while Mango underscores social and cultural changes within the general framework of Byzantine history. "One can hardly overestimate the catastrophic break that occurred in the seventh century" : so Mango presumes from his introduction (p. 4) onwards, eventually speaking of the "collapse of the Early Byzantine State", and of "profound social readjustment" (p. 45). He also assumes "fundamental shifts in mental attitudes" (p. 255). The concept of "catastrophe" and "collapse" is totally alien to the book of Beck ; instead, he likes such words as "Symbiose" (p. 27), "Permanenz" (p. 14, 212), "Kontinuitat" (p. 298), or "Continuum" (p. 310), and readily draws examples "von den Anfangen bis in die Spatzeit" (p. 242). Certainly, Byzantium could not be regarded simply as a "Monolith" (p. 290), however Beck confesses, overtly and not

without a tinge of polemic irony, that he had not "von Aufschwung und Niedergang gesprochen" (p. 311). Had changes taken place, they must not, according to Beck, obscure the substantial unity of Byzantine culture. Thus, Mango's book presents a history of Byzantine development, while that of Beck is devoted, first and foremost, to the functioning of his "Byzantine model".

Mango's concept of Byzantine development is, in its core, a negation of the idea still dominating modern Byzantine studies and presented, with brilliant consistency, in Ostrogorsky's *History*. According to Ostrogorsky, the factors for change in Byzantine must be sought ultimately in the countryside. The creation of a large class of free and free-moving peasants, as well as the organization of the theme system (that is settlement of soldiers granted inalienable holdings of land) gave a backbone to the revival of the Empire in the seventh century ; while from the eleventh century onward, the process of feudalization inevitably led to decline and fall. The destiny of the peasantry and the village community was for Ostrogorsky, as it had been for his great Russian predecessors, the corner-stone of historical development, and in an article on the city in the Byzantine empire (*DOP*, 13 [1959], 45-66) he eagerly argued against any attempt to discover substantial changes in the urban life in Byzantine of the seventh century. Any development would have to have been generated in the fields and vineyards.

Mango rejects this "agrarian approach" and introduces the city into his presentation, not as a simple fact but as a factor of historical development. Without naming Ostrogorsky, Mango writes of "historians" who "have been looking in the wrong direction" : they assumed "a continuity of urban life in the Dark Ages" and "sought to discover an agrarian revolution". Quite the contrary ! "It was urban life that collapsed" and was practically extinguished by the calamities of the seventh and eight centuries (p. 48, and especially pp. 69-73), while rural society did not undergo a structural change. Moreover, both "the establisment of quasi-feudal relations" and the revival of city life (p. 54) were typical of Byzantine development after the eleventh century. He is not afraid to proclaim "the economic and social upsurge of the eleventh century" (p. 58) which was accomplished "by the growth of a petty bourgeoisie" (p. 82). He accepts that the collapse of the educational system at the period after Justinian was "undoubtedly due to the disappearance of the cities" (p. 136) and, at the same time, the revival of intellectual creativity at the epoch of Psellos may be explained (albeit with a cautious "perhaps") by "the rise of an urban bourgeoisie" (p. 246).

Taken as a whole, Mango's concept of Byzantine development seems to be consistent, but if scrutinized more critically, it betrays some intrinsic contradictions. The first arises from his treatment of Byzantine society in the period after the eleventh century. Despite his criticism of Ostrogorsky's thesis, Mango assumes – with Ostrogorsky – that the "feudalization" of the eleventh century coincides with the beginning of the collapse. "The economic and social upsurge ... was cut short before it had achieved any durable results"; Alexius I is called "saviour" ironically, in quotation marks (p. 58); Mango is surprised that the Comnenian State managed to survive for a century (p. 59) and bluntly identifies Comnenian and Palaeologan policies (p. 53, 59). His periodization of Byzantine history (pp. 1-5) is almost the same as Beck's (pp. 29-32): both scholars assume a triple division into the Early, Middle and Late phases, both use political and territorial changes as dividing criteria, and both date the transition to the Middle phase to Arab expansion in the first half of the seventh century. Their only substantial difference appears in their placing of the border between the Middle and Late periods. Beck confidently dates the end of the Middle Byzantine phase to 1204 and describes this year as "ein angemessenes und allgemein anerkanntes Datum" (p. 32). By contrast, Mango affirms that scholars have chosen 1204 "with less justification" (p. 1) than the 1070s when the Turks occupied Asia Minor.

However, was the Byzantine twelfth century actually a period of decline? Browning is more cautious in his judgment when he calls the Comnenian epoch "one full of paradoxes" (p. 142). But we are very likely to take a further step in reconsideration of this period, which Beck proclaimes to be the end of the Middle phase, Mango attributes to the beginning of the Late one, and Browning singled out as a particular stage. Urban life which plays such an important part in Mango's conception, still flourished; the famines which appear with devasting regularity in the tenth and eleventh centuries, are hardly mentioned in twelfth-century sources. Westerners not only perceived Byzantium as an orchard in bloom, but the Empire in fact supplied Italy and other neighboring countries with grain. An upsurge in realms of literature and art is recognized by Mango himself, and it is hard to deny that Manuel I was a worthy rival of Frederick Barbarossa. Moreover, recent books by Michael Hendy (1969) and Michael Angold (1975) make the "allgemein anerkanntes Datum" of 1204 disputable; they show that the economic and monetary system survived the capture of Constantinople, and that the

Territorialstaat of Nicaea was a healthy organism able to hold its own among its neighbors. It seems very probable that the real tragedy of Byzantium was the reappearance of the will-o-wisp idea of universal monarchy which Michael VIII Palaeologus pursued with completely inadequate resources (see, for instance, Hélène Ahrweiler's *L'idéologie politique de l'Empire Byzantin* [Paris, 1975], 116).

Mango's second inherent contradiction lies in the structure rather than content of the book. He affirms (and I am glad to agree with him) that the seventh century marked "the beginning of a very different and distinctly medieval world" and that therefore "the catastrophe of the seventh century is the central event of Byzantine history" (p. 4). Thus we have to expect that Mango's picture of "the conceptual world of Byzantium" would be presented through post-seventh-century evidence. But in chapter 9 ("The Inhabitants of the Earth") Mango uses later material in only five cases (John Damascene, The Life of Stephen the Sabaite, Photius, Cecaumenus, and Manuel II), while the authors of the fourth through the seventh century are quoted at least 26 times. An even greater imbalance is in chapter 12 ("The Ideal Life"): five quotations from later sources (Theodore the Studite, the Epanagoge, the Book of the Eparch, Leo VI's novel, and Constantine VII's *De Caerimoniis*), while earlier authors are reffered to 40 times, including 14 quotations from John Chrysostom and 10 from the *Sacra Parallela*, the texts of the Fathers of the Church assembled by John Damascene. Does this mean that "the central event of Byzantine history" had little or no influence on "the conceptual world of Byzantium" and that the proto-byzantine ideas of the *oecumene* and morality would remain unchanged after both the collapse and revival of the urban life ? Does this mean that the *imagines mundi*, as they were created by the inhabitants of the Late Roman *polis* (from Libanius to Agathias), by the provincial monk of the Dark Ages, by the antiquarian of the ninth or tenth century, by the intellectual of the Byzantine 'Pre-Renaissance', by the 'knight' or the 'burgess' on the eve of the Turkish conquest were identical ? Thus, despite himself, Mango is approaching Beck's idea of *Permanenz*, *Kontinuität* and *Continuum* in Byzantine culture.

Like Mango's book, Beck's is essentially critical, and like Mango, Beck prefers not to name the targets of his critical fire. There are two main theses generally accepted in modern historiography, which epitomize Byzantium. The *Cambridge Medieval History* expresses them thus: 1) "The autocratic absolutism of the Byzantine Emperors was the essential feature and the chief support of that state" (W. Ensslin : IV, 2, p. 1); and

2) "Monks are the sinews and foundations of the Church" (J. Hussey, quoting Theodore the Studite : p. 184). Beck courageously opposes these two common opinions.

Beck states unreservedly : "Keinesfalls ist der byzantinische Herrscher ein absoluter Monarch" (p. 40). He supports this idea by demonstrating that the *res publica* was understood in Byzantium as an institution that was older than the imperial power and was set above the emperor (p. 43). He further emphasizes that the Byzantine monarchy was restricted by various forces (p. 46), primarily by institutions of private law, *Verbände*, including the colonate, *patrocinium* and *pronoia* (pp. 47-50), as well as by local self-government, for instance episcopal power and urban autonomies (p. 50 f.). Beck dwells on the functions of three organs destined to limit the imperial power – Senate, "people" and army (pp. 52-59) – and considers the Byzantine empire as a *Wahlmonarchie* (p. 67). He is completely aware of the necessity of asking what milieu and what external pressures engendered Byzantine imperial theory (p. 43). He indicates that the bureaucracy could conceive of itself as a mere tool in the hands of its ruler, or identify itself with the "state" as a force in an objective opposition to the ruler, or appear as a bearer of a specific group, or even caste, mentality (p. 70). To make a long story short, Beck traces the pattern of a very sophisticated and ambiguous state machinery, entwined with differing and frequently opposing social tendencies.

The chapter on the monastic life starts with an overt polemic. Beck ridicules (un-named) Byzantinists who affirm that monks were already controlling the administration of the Church by the sixth century, or calculate numbers of monks in the Empire so vast that they led to a crisis of population. "Where the hand did write, a scriptorium would be found, where two codices can be proved : a library" (p. 207. See also p. 210 f., 228). Byzantium had no monastic orders as such ; the majority of Byzantine monks took the habit only at the threshold of death, and the part played by Byzantine monks cannot be compared with that of their western counter-parts (p. 212). *Koinobia* were hard find in Byzantium (p. 214), and Byzantine society considered the social function of monks first of all in the creation of an ideal of behavior (p. 217).

Mango, certainly, could not avoid touching upon both points. His image of the Byzantine emperor is closer to the traditional one than that presented by Beck. He is satisfied with the vague statement that "in theory the emperor's authority knew no limits save those imposed by divine law" (p. 32) and dwells on the specific role of the emperor as a holy person (p.

219). Contrary to Beck, Mango suggests that the hereditary principle of the throne was generally respected, though Mango is astonished by the fact that the Byzantines never evolved a theory of imperial succession (p. 32). In his treatment of monasticism Mango is less traditional : he urgently insists that monasticism was a lay movement (p. 105), the monk was a Christian layman (p. 108, 224), and that monastic education beyond the most basic level did not exist in Byzantium (p. 148).

If it is not the absolute autocrat or the contemplative monk as spiritual director, who can be regarded as the key figure of Byzantine society ? Three interconnected chapters are central to Beck's book : on political orthodoxy, literature and theology, implying that in Beck's view the intellectual is the most significant representative of the Byzantine world. It is quite remarkable that in Beck's conception, it is the idea of political orthodoxy which embraces the impact of religious doctrine and ritual on the whole political structure, rather than an imperial ideology which affects lay society and the Church. Time and again the throne is displaced from the focus of social life and replaced with a living and acting human thought.

Runciman complained that Byzantine literature "lacked a certain creative spontaneity" (p. 240), and Franz Dolger followed in the same vein : though some writers could produce works of considerable merit, Byzantine literature reveals an exercise in formal and technical skill, rather than any direct inspiration or significant experience (*Cambridge Medieval History*, IV, 2, p. 209 f.). Beck abandons this welltrodden path and attempts to survey Byzantine literature as a live organism : old genres died out (p. 112 f.), writers could "hold hand on the pulse of the time" (p. 125) and knew how to criticize as well as eulogize rulers (p. 139 f.). Although most of Byzantine *Literati* belonged to the upper layer of society (p. 123, see also p. 241, 294), they sometimes tried to escape the restrictions of official morality and of political orthodoxy. Beck emphasizes two aspects of this moral divergency : the erotic romance and the disparagement of monks (pp. 142-47).

In his chapter on literature, Mango's aim is very close to Beck's. He, too, tries "to gain some understanding of Byzantine literature in its historical setting" (p. 234), and actually connects the development of literature with the vanishing and re-appearance of the reading public (p. 237) – that is with the fate of Byzantine cities. In re-appreciating the role of Byzantine literature, both scholars have taken a very important step forward : Byzantine literature ceases to be a vain game of artificial

imitation and begins to assume its proper place in an historical setting. It would have been an even more complicated task to put Byzantine theology in its historical setting.

In principle Beck acknowledges that theology has to be studied in connection "mit der ganzen wissenschaftlichen Welt" and even more in interlacing "mit dem gesamten kulturellen und alltaglichen Leben" (p. 167). However, what Beck discusses in the wake of this crucial statement is the lack of ecclesiastical *magisterium* and of theological schools (both schools of thought and of pupils) (pp. 168-70), the lack of the social stratum which would have identified itself with theology (p. 171), the lack of works comparable with "die grossen westlichen Summen" (p. 175). He describes dogmatics in a chronological sequence, stressing especially that Byzantine doctrinal theology did not die out after the Monothelite dispute of the seventh century (p. 183). He characterizes Byzantine mystics, also chronologically. If he asks about the origins and wide spread of mystics in Byzantium, he looks for the answer not in "das gesamte kulturelle und alltägliche Leben" but in the much more restricted field of spiritual life – in a general interest of Byzantines in the *Vita contemplativa* and in the liabilities of "eine formalisierte Dogmatik" (p. 205). Is Symeon the Theologian's mysticism, his "individualistic" approach to God, his search for personal way of salvation, connected with his rejection of social links, particularly of human friendship? Is it connected with the Byzantine disregard for monastic *koinobia* that was demonstrated by Beck himself? Is it connected with the strength of family ties so typical of Byzantine social structure, as it was underlined by different scholars such as Hunger, Ducellier and most recently John Haldon in his book on the *Recruitment and Conscription on the Byzantine Army* (Vienna, 1979) and Guillou ('Transformations des structures socio-économiques dans le monde byzantin du VIe au VIIIe siècle', *ZRVI*, 19 [1980], 76)?

Two examples may demonstrate the difference of Beck's approaches to literature and to theology. When he speaks of trends in literature, he emphasizes underlying trends in social conditions: "die gesellschaftlichen Umstände verändern sich" (p. 110), "gewandelt haben sich die gesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse" (p. 125). But he perceives the relationship of doctrinal theology to society in a reverse way: far from society influencing theology, it is the function of dogmatics to influence society. Beck aims to investigate dogmatics not in isolation but as a significant factor in the whole of Byzantine life, for which dogmatics have

themselves created the norms (p. 178). Beck likes statistics, – although he understands quite clearly how limited Byzantine figures are. He uses statistics in chapters on both literature and theology. In first case he evaluates the social structure of Byzantine literati (p. 123), concluding that they were more or less identical with the upper layer of society (p. 137). The statistical approach in the chapter on theology serves quite a different purpose. He analyzes the Greek manuscript collection of the Escorial, and calculates the percentage of theological manuscripts within the whole collection and that of dogmatic texts within the body of theological manuscripts. His figures – the percentage has been changing as time went on – are very provocative, but what matters now is their irrelevance to any social observations. Unlike literature, theology still remains an independent "superstructure" outside of the framework of social relations and concepts ; it certainly affected society, but we are not yet ready to accept that Byzantine society could have influenced the doctrinal teaching concerning God and the heavenly world.

Beck changes his tune when he moves from lofty theology to the beliefs of ordinary people. He speaks here mostly of heresies and acknowledges that a non-conformist or rebel could express his political will in dogmatic form (p. 259), and that Byzantine dualists dared to criticize existing social and ecclesiastic conditions (p. 273). In other words, sublime theology was a product of pure spiritual development, while heresies could be tainted by a social background. But was "'der Glaube' der Byzantiner", the beliefs of ordinary folk really restricted to heresies, or to demonology and astrology (pp. 267-69), that is to a circle of ideas and images found primarily outside the official Church and its policial orthodoxy ?

The Byzantine world outlook has long been understood as a doctrinal concept, Runciman excepts superstition which embraced, according to him (p. 132), a love for images, the cult of relics and thaumaturgy. In the *Cambridge Medieval History* popular beliefs are treated with disdain as superstition and obscurantism (R. Jenkins : IV, 2, p. 83) strongly rooted among "illiterate and brutish rustics" (p. 101), or as superstition and pseudo-sciences (K. Vogel : p. 296) ; they are regarded as connected either with miraculous healing, rain-making and fortune-telling (p. 101) or with entertainments and festivals (pp. 92 f., 96). Guillou was the first to present popular beliefs as a system, "les modes de pensée". This system covers a broad range, including categories of crucial significance such as time (p. 227 f.), labor and profit (p. 231 f.), entertainment (p. 232 f.), order (p. 237). Such a system of popular beliefs, opinions and images, forms the core of

Ducellier's book. Mango follows this trail, though in different sequence. His conceptual world of Byzantium encompasses the invisible cosmos, the physical universe, the inhabitants of the Earth, Time as both historical past and eschatological future, and eventually political, social and ethical ideals. None of these topics, save that of the historical past, is touched upon by Beck.

Moreover, Mango indicates that the Cosmos, including the heavenly world, was imagined by the Byzantines in terms of real life. The *Awesome and Edifying Vision* of the monk Cosmas (of the first half of the tenth century) endows the imperial palace of the Heaven with all typical features of the earthly palaces (p. 153). And another tenth-century text, the Life of Saint Basil the Younger, depicts the way to the Heaven as a road through twenty-one *teloneia*, 'toll-gates', where the presiding demons check up detailed ledgers in which every particular transgression was entered. Mango comments : "The burden of the imperial bureaucracy and the fear of tax-collector could not have been represented more graphically" (p. 164).

Two basic principles of the Byzantine social ideal are particularly worth noting : that of order, *taxis* (p. 218) and that of family ties : "The family was the basic cell of human existence" (p. 227). Both subjects are now attracting the close attention of modern students of Byzantium.

The "conceptual world" of Mango's books is far from being complete. We would not find there the idea of labor and profit, of wealth and poverty, nor the question of body language : only incidentally does the author mention the condemnation of laughter (p. 225). We miss, too, Byzantine ritualism, which encompasses not only liturgical service and imperial ceremonial, but also a series of less studied observances, such as those of birth, marriage and funeral. What did the Byzantine eat ? How did they treat their children ? A list of analogous questions could be established and enlarged easily enough. Nevertheless, this section of Mango's book is a particularly important contribution to modern Byzantine studies : the examination of the Byzantine conceptual world, as well as that of Byzantine behavior, is a recent one, encouraged by the example of western medievalists. Such enquiry will open for us many still hidden aspects of Byzantium life.

So far, I have emphasized the distinctions between the books under review. These differences seem very significant. They demonstrate that the old framework for Byzantine civilization, which has been almost mandatory after Runciman's work, is now shattered and jettisoned.

Moreover, it has not yet been replaced by a new scheme, Byzantine *Kulturgeschichte* is in a state of flux, search and discovery, when different approaches are both necessary and profitable.

Despite their differences, both books have many common features. One of them is momentous : a new approach to the burning question of the heritage of Antiquity. Beck stresses that Byzantium had "keine Vor- oder Frühgeschichte", no period of myth and oral tradition, that it is simply a late stage in the history of the Greeks and their neighbors (p. 11). Nevertheless, Byzantine culture was in no sense a sheer imitation, just an epigonous stage. "Die Anerkennung eines Klassikers als Vorbild ist nicht gleichzusetzen mit blossem Epigonentum" (p. 111). Mango goes even farther. Although he employs the expression "undeniably very conservative" to describe Byzantine art and literature (p. 256), he knows, at the same time, that the Byzantine scheme of life was the antithesis of Hellenic standards (p. 229). The perception of an antique heritage was an active process : Psellos, indeed, had classical models, but the same models had been available to his predecessors who had not used them (p. 246). To put it differently, the Byzantines, at a certain period of time, began to call on classical models to give answers to contemporary problems.

The thesis of continuity has recently found a brilliant defence in an article by Günter Weiss ('Antike und Byzanz', *Historische Zeitschrift*, 224 [1977]), but it is not a thesis which Beck or Mango accept. Byzantine society and its culture were a new phenomenon rather than a variation on a Roman theme. Even more than its literature, theology, and art, its conceptual world is consistently medieval. The scholarly goal, however, is not limited to the exhibition of the medieval pattern of Byzantine civilization, of its radical distinction from the world of the Greek *polis* and Roman *municipium*. The other side of the coin is hardly touched upon by either scholars : the correlation of Byzantine and other contemporary civilizations, primarily the Western and the Arab ones. What had they in common and to what extent did they differ ? Were two basic principles of Byzantines society, its order and family links, typical of the western *société féodale*, or can we find there other types of vertical and horizontal ties ?

There are much new information and many factual observations in both books. But their main merit is not their factual thoroughness. They are stimulating. They are sometimes paradoxical. They stir the traditional and the habitual. They are very important bricks for the building of the history of Byzantine civilization – an edifice that still is to be constructed.

Dumbarton Oaks. A. KAZHDAN.

COMPTES RENDUS

Art russe ancien

Drevnerusskoe iskusstvo. Monumental'naja živopis', XI-XVII vv. (L'art russe ancien. Peinture monumentale des XIe-XVIIe s.), Moscou, 1980, Nauka. 400 p.

Depuis 1964, l'Institut d'histoire de l'art de Moscou publie, irrégulièrement, une série de gros volumes consacrés à tous les aspects de l'histoire de l'art russe ancien. Chaque tome porte le titre général *Art russe ancien*, auquel s'ajoute, en sous-titre, l'intitulé du thème spécialisé, géographiquement, historiquement ou chronologiquement, du volume. Cette série, comportant maintenant plus de 250 articles de spécialistes, constitue une source indispensable pour l'étude de l'art russe des XIe-XVIIe s., et ses rapports avec les mondes byzantin et balkanique. Le dernier paru, consacré à la peinture monumentale, tient les promesses de ses prédécesseurs. Environ 25 articles éclairent, souvent sous un jour nouveau, ou apportent des précisions concernant de nombreux monuments, parfois encore inconnus ou non publiés, de l'art de la fresque, dans le sens large du mot, jusqu'à la fin de la période médiévale. On retiendra particulièrement les articles fouillés de I. Doropienko, P. Red'ko, N. Blinderova sur les fragments de décor du XIIe s. mis à jour il y a quelques années dans l'église St. Cyrille de Kiev, de L. Balygina, A. Nekrasov, A. Skvorcov sur les fragments du XIIe s. de la cathédrale de la Dormition à Vladimir, de G. Štender, qui revient sur la *Deisis* de Ste. Sophie de Novgorod, de L. Lifšic sur les fresques du monastère Snetogorskij (Pskov), de G. Vzdornov sur les portraits d'archevêques novgorodiens au XIVe s., du Ju. Malkov sur Théophane le Grec et les courants balkaniques, ainsi que des essais denses sur l'église de Théodore Stratilate (Novgorod), le sauvetage remarquable des fresques de Kovalevo par A. Grekov, la décoration murale des églises de la ville de Dovmont à Pskov, sur Starica (XVe s.), sur le monastère de Ferapontovo. Ce volume devra figurer,

comme les autres de la série, dans toute bibliothèque d'histoire de l'art médiéval.

J. BLANKOFF.

Art et Archéologie en Arménie soviétique

Naučnye soobščenija. Vyp. X. Institut iskusstv AN Armjanskoj SSR. Edit. Nauka, Moscou, 1978, 184 p. (Communications scientifiques. Fasc. X. Institut des Arts et la RSS d'Arménie).

Ce fascicule, publié en fait conjointement par l'Institut des Arts d'Arménie et le Musée des arts orientaux de Moscou, comporte une vingtaine d'articles en russe touchant l'archéologie et l'art sur le territoire arménien historique, depuis l'âge du bronze jusqu'à la fin du moyen âge. Les brèves études, de 6 à 12 pages, concernent l'architecture, les reliefs, la peinture de fresque et de miniature, les arts appliqués et, occasionnellement, la musique ancienne.

V. Nlek discute le style et la facture des nombreuses statuettes de l'âge du bronze et du début de l'âge du fer, provenant d'Arménie, et les compare aux œuvres hittites et anatoliennes (pp. 5-11). L'essai de S. Mnatsakanian est consacré aux croix mémoriales des martyria des IVe-VIIe s. en tant que préfiguration des *khatchkars* des époques ultérieures. G. Chakhkian se livre à une intéressante tentative de classification des reliefs de la basilique à coupole d'Odzoun, d'autant plus utile que les reliefs de façades semblent à l'ordre du jour des recherches sur l'art médiéval en Europe de l'Est. Parmi les études sur la peinture de fresque, il faut signaler celles, comparatives, de S. Manukian, sur l'archaïsation des œuvres du Xe s., et de V. Kazarian sur les rapports existant entre les miniatures du cilicien Pitsak (XIVe s.) et les fresques cappadociennes. S'appuyant sur la bibliographie de base, P. Danapetian remet les choses au point au sujet de la prétendue représentation de l'église de Zvartnots sur les reliefs du portail de la Sainte-Chapelle de Paris (pp. 165-171); M. Asratian analyse en détails les très anciennes (IVe-Ve s.) églises à une nef à abside fortement protubérante et, aux rares exemples généralement cités, en ajoute une demi-douzaine d'autres (Lusakert, Batikian, etc.) (pp. 109-114).

En bref, plusieurs articles apportent du nouveau, sous forme synthétique ou analytique, sur des monuments peu connus.

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IV respublikanskaja naučnaja konferencija po problemam kul'tury i iskusstva Armenii. Tezisy. Erevan, 1979, 291 p. (IVe conférence scientifique sur les problèmes de la culture et de l'art de la république d'Arménie. Résumés (en arménien et russe).

Le 4e symposium national sur l'art arménien s'est tenu à Erevan et Sardarapat du 18 au 22 septembre 1979. Il a comporté plus de cent communications touchant les aspects les plus divers de la culture et de l'art arméniens, depuis l'époque néolithique jusqu'à nos jours, dans les domaines les plus variés : architecture, sculpture, peinture, notamment miniature, musique ancienne et moderne, théâtre, muséologie, numismatique, ethnographie et folklore. Ce recueil, dont les 140 premières pages sont réservées aux textes en langue arménienne, donne sous forme de résumés en russe, généralement limités à une ou deux pages, l'essentiel du contenu de chaque communication et les conclusions des rapporteurs. Les résumés témoignent du vaste registre de problèmes traités et de la vigueur des études d'histoire de l'art, au sens large, en Arménie. En ce qui concerne les études sur l'archéologie et l'art paléochrétiens et médiévaux, on retiendra notamment les rapports de L. Azarian sur les anciennes représentations (reliefs) du prophète Daniel, de E. Aïbabin sur les fouilles de l'église arménienne de St.-Jean le Théologien à Théodosie, la synthèse de G. Arechian et K. Kafadarian sur l'évolution des constructions des agriculteurs du Caucase sud aux Ve-IVe millénaires av. J.-C. et l'apparition du pilier comme point d'appui, de R. Arutiunian sur les fresques de l'église de la Croix d'Aghpat (Xe-XIIIe s.), de M. Asratian sur l'architecture princière du XIIIe s. à Dadivank (Khatchène), de A. Vysotski sur deux groupes de constructions à coupole de Transcaucasie qui soumet à un examen critique les travaux de O. Wulff, N. Brunov et J. Strzygowski. Certains rapports touchent les arts appliqués (faïence ornementée) et la miniature (T. Izmaïlova, sur les miniatures des évangélistes du *codex* 3756 du Mantenadaran, que le rapporteur estime ne pouvoir avoir été exécutées avant le milieu du XIIIe s.), de V. Kazarian, sur le cycle de la Nativité de l'évangéliaire 7651, et une série d'autres non moins intéressants.

J. Blankoff.

Musées de Bulgarie

Godišnik na muzeite ot severna Bălgarija (Annuaire des musées de la Bulgarie du nord). Vol. 1, Varna, 1975, 229 p. + pl.

Ce nouvel annuaire est la publication commune des musées de Tirnovo, Choumène, Roussé, Gabrovo, Lovetch, Razgrad et Targovichte. Les articles sont en bulgare avec résumé en allemand. Ils couvrent les domaines les plus variés, depuis l'antiquité jusqu'à nos jours ; les sujets traités vont des matériaux archéologiques d'époque thrace et romaine, comme ceux trouvés à Khotnica (Tirnovo) (fibules, torques, céramique), la céramique antique tardive de Choumène, une petite icône sculptée de Preslav (Christ), l'étude archéologique de la forteresse de cette ville (XIIe-XIVe s.), les monnaies romaines de Sukhindol ou la résistance anti-turque dans les régions de Roussé-Silistra du XVe au XVIIIe s. jusqu'à des analyses sociologiques et historiques sur les populations du nord du pays. Des documents d'archives relatifs à la guerre de libération de 1877-78 sont publiés également.

J. Blankoff.

FIG. 1. – Gallipoli (presso), facciata della chiesa di San Mauro
Foto M. Falla

TAVOLA II

FIG. 2. – Gallipoli (presso), chiesa di San Mauro, interno. Bacio di Guida
Foto Sovrintendenza Monumenti e Gallarie-Bari

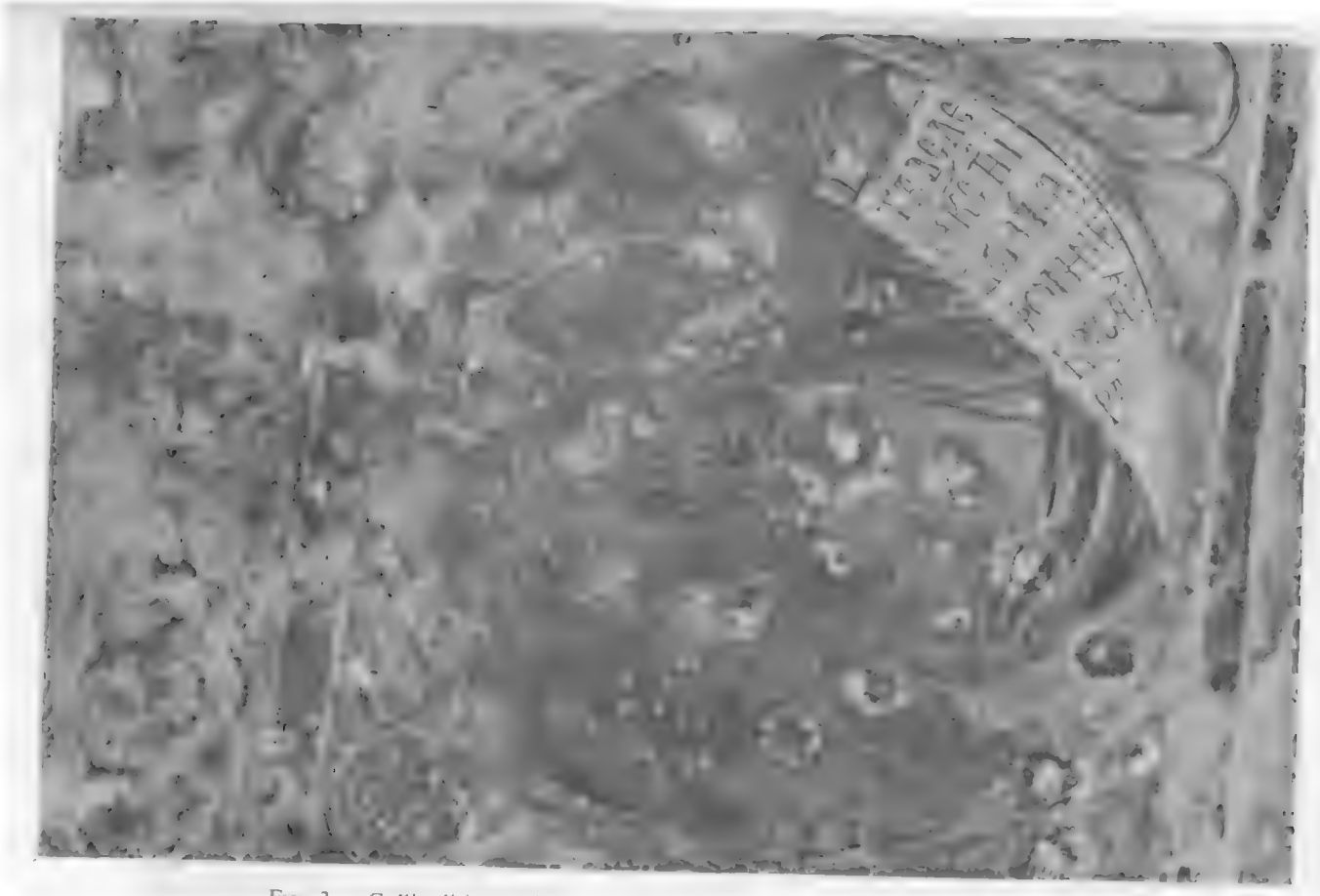


FIG. 3. – Gallipoli (presso), chiesa di San Mauro, interno : il profeta Abdia
Foto G. Bertelli

TAVOLA IV

FIG. 4. – Gallipoli (presso) chiesa di San Mauro, interno : l'evangelista Luca e l'apostolo Paolo
Foto Sovrintendenza Monumenti e Gallerie, Bari

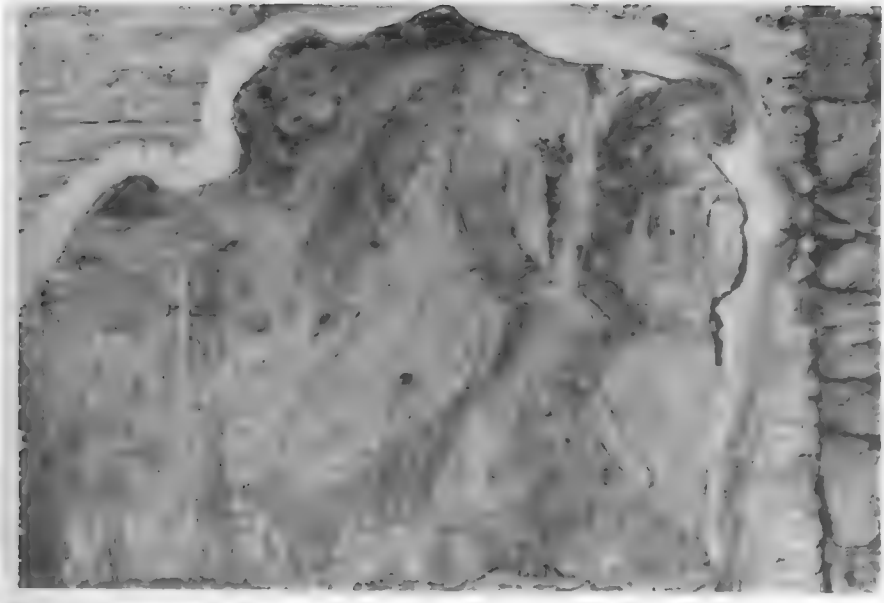
FIG. 5. – Gallipoli (presso), chiesa di San Mauro, interno :
San Luciano di Antiocha
Foto Sovrintendenza Monumenti e Gallerie, Bari

TAVOLA VI

FIG. 6. – Gallipoli (presso), chiesa di San Mauro, interno : San Gioannicio
Foto M. Falla

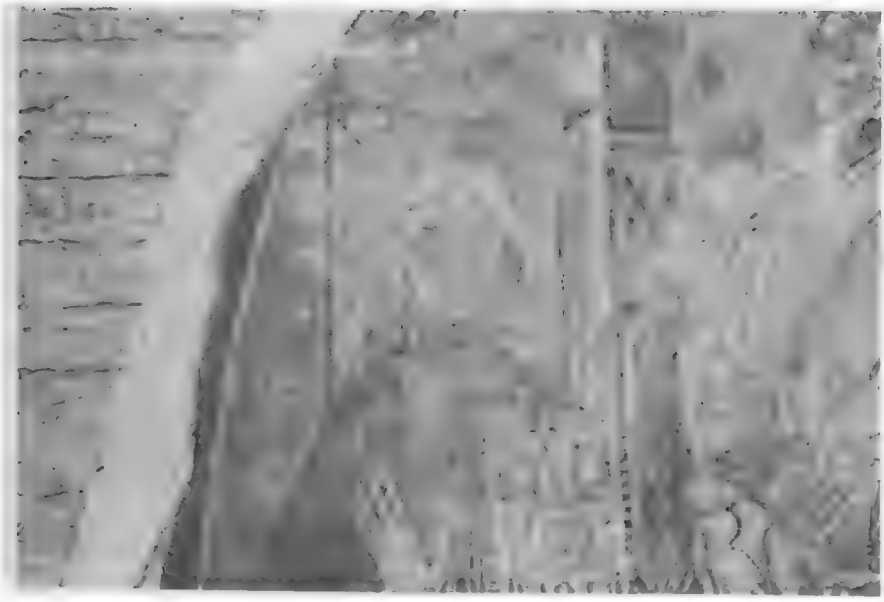
FIG. 7. – Gallipoli (presso), chiesa di San Mauro, interno :
San Clemente di Ochrida
Foto Sovrintendenza Monumenti e Gallerie, Bari

PLATE I



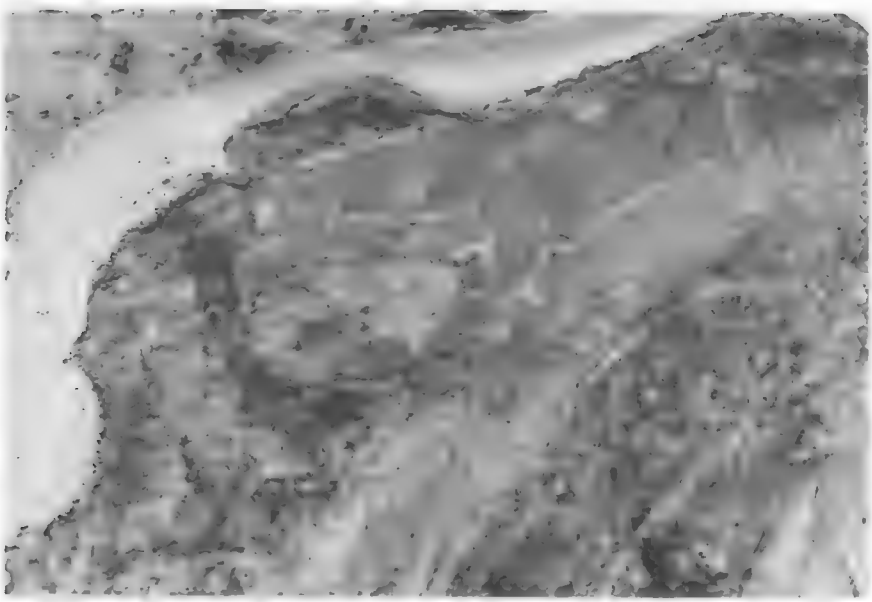
Anastasis, San Clemente, Rome (photo : John Osborne)

PLATE II



Anastasis – detail (photo : John Osborne)

PLATE III



Anastasis – detail (photo : John Osborne)

PLATE IV

Anastasis – detail (photo : John Osborne)

Tomb of Alfanus, S. Maria in Cosmedin, Rome
(photo : John Osborne)

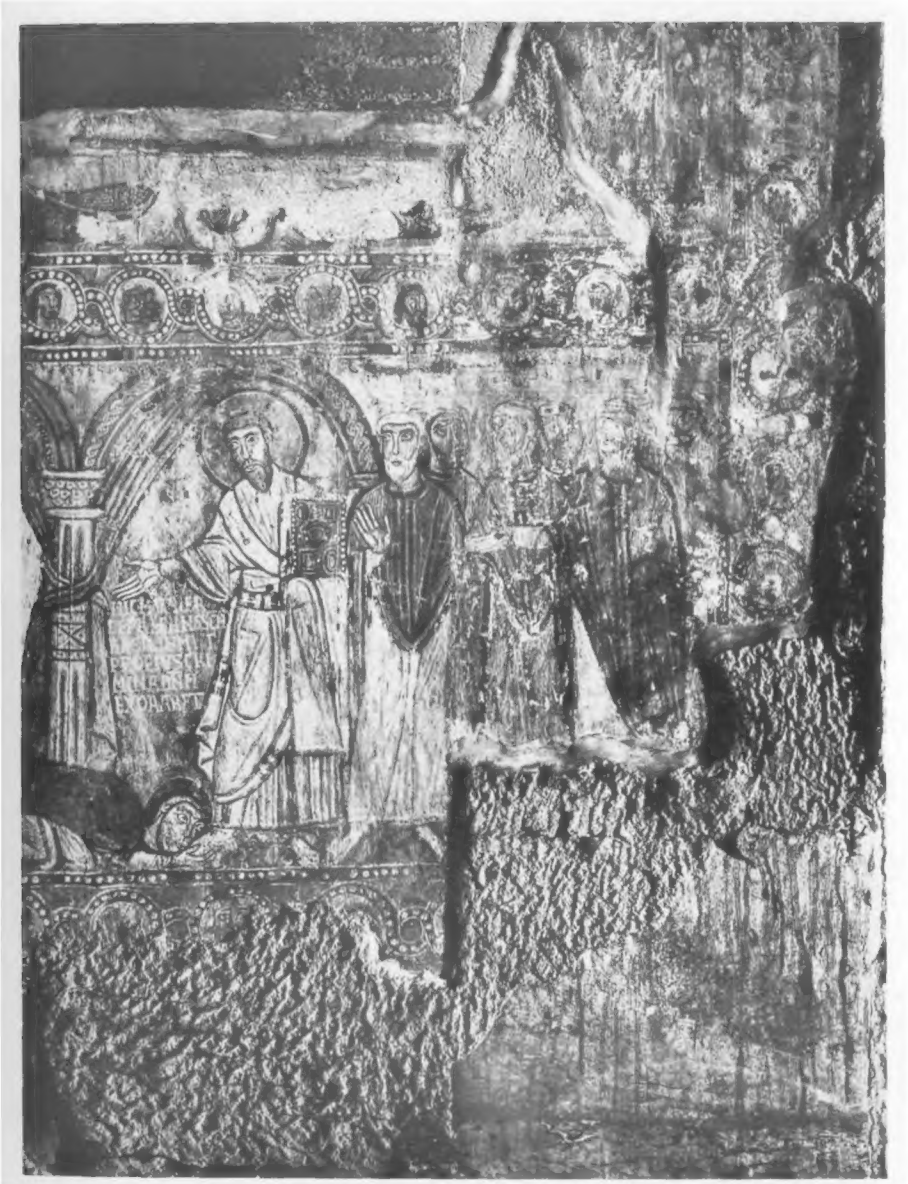
PLATE VI

S. Maria de Gradellis, Rome
(photo : Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale)

S. Maria de Gradellis, Rome
(photo : Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale)

PLATE VIII

S. Maria de Gradellis, Rome
(photo : Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale)



S. Maria de Gradellis. Rome
(photo : Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale)

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